

PROCEEDINGS OF THE BRITISH ACADEMY

1949

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LIST OF FELLOWS, 1949

- †⁸⁰ Professor F. E. ADCOCK, O.B.E.
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- ⁴⁶ The Rev. Professor C. E. RAVEN.

† The year of election is indicated by the number: e.g. 4 = 1904; 13 = 1913.

LIST OF FELLOWS, 1949 (*continued*)

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p> ⁴⁶ Professor W. L. RENWICK.
 ⁴⁷ Dr. I. A. RICHMOND.
 ⁴⁸ Professor L. C. ROBBINS, C.B.
 ⁴⁷ Mr. C. H. ROBERTS.
 ³⁸ Professor D. H. ROBERTSON, C.M.G.
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 ³⁷ Sir W. D. ROSS, K.B.E.
 ⁴⁶ Professor LEON ROTH.
 ⁴⁷ The Rev. Professor H. H. ROWLEY.
 ³⁰ The Rev. H. E. SALTER.
 ⁴⁶ Dr. VICTOR SCHOLDERER.
 ³⁸ Professor R. W. SETON-WATSON.
 ⁴¹ Mr. K. SISAM.
 ³⁸ Professor D. NICHOL SMITH.
 ³⁴ Professor N. KEMP SMITH.
 ⁴¹ Dr. SIDNEY SMITH.
 ³⁶ Sir F. M. STENTON.
 ⁴⁵ Mr. B. H. SUMNER.
 ⁴⁴ Professor RONALD SYME.
 ³⁸ Dr. W. W. TARN.
 ³⁴ Professor R. H. TAWNEY.
 ³⁶ The Rev. Dr. F. R. TENNANT.
 ³⁷ Professor F. W. THOMAS, C.I.E.
 ³⁶ Sir H. THOMAS.
 ³⁸ Professor A. HAMILTON THOMP-
 SON, C.B.E. </p> | <p> ⁴⁷ The Rev. J. M. THOMPSON.
 ³⁹ Dr. MARCUS N. TOD, O.B.E.
 ³⁷ Professor ARNOLD J. TOYNBEE.
 ³⁵ Dr. GEORGE M. TREVELYAN, O.M.,
 C.B.E.
 ⁴³ Professor R. L. TURNER.
 ⁴⁵ Professor A. J. B. WACE.
 ⁴¹ Professor H. T. WADE-GERY.
 ⁴⁵ Dr. A. D. WALEY.
 ³⁷ Dr. C. C. J. WEBB.
 ³⁰ Sir C. K. WEBSTER, K.C.M.G.
 ⁴¹ Dr. R. E. MORTIMER WHEELER,
 C.I.E.
 ⁴⁷ Professor BASIL WILLEY.
 ³⁸ Professor BASIL WILLIAMS, O.B.E.
 ⁴⁴ Mr. HAROLD WILLIAMS.
 ³⁸ Sir IFOR WILLIAMS.
 ⁴³ Professor F. P. WILSON.
 ³¹ Professor J. DOVER WILSON, C.H.
 ³⁴ Sir P. H. WINFIELD.
 ⁴⁵ Sir R. O. WINSTEDT, K.B.E., C.M.G.
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 ⁴⁶ Mr. FRANCIS WORMALD.
 ⁴⁰ The Rt. Hon. Lord WRIGHT,
 G.C.M.G.
 ²⁹ The Most Hon. the Marquess of ZET-
 LAND, K.G., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E. </p> |
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RETIRED FELLOWS, 1949

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p> ²² Professor A. L. BOWLEY, C.B.E.
 ³⁸ Mr. E. W. BROOKS. </p> | <p> ³⁷ Professor A. C. PIGOU.
 ²⁹ Professor F. de ZULUETA. </p> |
|--|---|

HONORARY FELLOW, 1949

- ⁴⁹ The Rt. Hon. Earl RUSSELL, O.M.

CORRESPONDING FELLOWS, 1949

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p> ⁴⁷ Dr. A. ALFÖLDI (Hungary).
 ³³ The Duke of BERWICK AND ALBA
 (Spain).
 ³⁸ Professor ETTORE BIGNONE (Italy).
 ⁴⁹ Professor C. W. BLEGEN (U.S.A.)
 ⁴³ Professor CAMPBELL BONNER
 (U.S.A.).
 ³⁵ Senatore BENEDETTO CROCE (Italy).
 ⁴⁹ Professor W. B. DINSMOOR (U.S.A.).
 ³⁷ M. RENÉ DUSSAUD (France).
 ⁴⁷ The Rev. Professor F. DVORNIK
 (Czechoslovakia).
 ³⁷ Professor EILERT EK WALL (Sweden).
 ⁴³ Professor W. S. FERGUSON (U.S.A.).
 ³⁴ Professor MAX FÖRSTER (Germany).
 ³⁶ M. ALFRED FOUCHER (France).
 ³⁷ Professor ÉTIENNE GILSON (France).
 ³⁶ Dr. PAUL JACOBSTHAL (Germany).
 ⁴⁵ Dr. FELIX JACOBY (Germany).
 ³⁷ Professor WERNER JAEGER (Germany).
 ⁴⁶ Professor WILHELM KOEHLER
 (Germany).
 ³¹ Professor HALVDAN KOHT (Norway).
 ⁴⁶ Professor KURT LATTE (Germany). </p> | <p> ⁴⁸ Professor G. LE BRAS (France).
 ⁴⁹ M. GEORGES LEFEBVRE (France).
 ⁴⁸ Dr. GUSTAVE LEFEBVRE (France).
 ⁴⁸ M. P. E. LEGRAND (France).
 ³⁵ Professor PAUL LEHMANN (Ger-
 many).
 ⁴⁸ Professor C. I. LEWIS (U.S.A.).
 ³¹ Professor EINAR LÖFSTEDT (Sweden).
 ³⁵ Professor FERDINAND LOT (France).
 ³⁸ Professor E. A. LOWE (U.S.A.).
 ⁴¹ Dr. PAUL MAAS (Germany).
 ⁴¹ Professor C. H. McILWAIN (U.S.A.).
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 ³⁰ Professor RAMÓN MENÉNDEZ
 PIDAL (Spain).
 ⁴⁰ Professor B. D. MERITT (U.S.A.).
 ⁴⁶ Professor VLADIMIR MINORSKY
 (Russia).
 ³⁰ Professor MARTIN P. NILSSON
 (Sweden).
 ⁴⁸ Professor A. D. NOCK (U.S.A.).
 ⁴⁰ Professor ROSCOE POUND (U.S.A.).
 ³⁸ Professor LUDWIG RADERMACHER
 (Germany). </p> |
|--|---|

CORRESPONDING FELLOWS, 1949 (*continued*)

- ⁴⁶ Miss GISELA M. A. RICHTER
(U.S.A.).
- ⁴⁶ Professor LOUIS ROBERT (France).
- ¹⁷ Professor MIKHAIL ROSTOVITZEF
(U.S.A.).
- ⁴⁶ M. CLAUDE F. A. SCHAEFFER
(France).

- ²⁸ Dr. HAAKON SHETELIG (Norway).
- ⁴⁴ Professor E. V. TARLÉ (Russia).
- ⁴⁶ Professor H. A. THOMPSON₁ (U.S.A.).
- ⁴⁴ Professor TSCHEN YINKOH (China).
- ²⁸ Père L. HUGUES VINCENT (France).
- ²¹ Professor ADOLF WILHELM (Germany).

DECEASED FELLOWS, 1949 ORDINARY

- ¹⁸ The Rev. Dr. E. A. ABBOTT.
- ²⁷ Dr. LASCELLES ABERCROMBIE.
- ¹³ Professor SAMUEL ALEXANDER,
O.M.
- ²³ Dr. P. S. ALLEN.
- * The Rt. Hon. Sir W. R. ANSON, Bart.
- * Mr. EDWARD ARMSTRONG.
- ²⁸ Sir T. W. ARNOLD, C.I.E.
- ²⁷ Dr. THOMAS ASHBY.
- ²⁸ The Rt. Hon. Lord ATKIN.
- * The Rt. Hon. the Earl of BALFOUR,
K.G., O.M.
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- * Professor F. C. BURKITT.
- ¹⁶ Professor JOHN BURNET.
- * Professor J. B. BURY.
- * Mr. S. H. BUTCHER.
- * Mr. INGRAM BYWATER.
- * Dr. EDWARD CAIRD.
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- ²⁵ Professor H. M. CHADWICK.
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- ²⁷ Professor R. W. CHAMBERS.
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- * The Rev. Professor T. K. CHEYNE.
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- ²⁷ Professor F. M. CORNFORD.
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- * Professor E. B. COWELL.

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- * The Ven. Archdeacon CUNNINGHAM.
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- ²⁷ The Most Rev. C. F. D'ARCY.
- * The Rt. Hon. Lord DAVEY.
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C.H.
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- * Professor P. GARDNER.
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C.B.E.
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- ²⁴ Professor F. LLEWELLYN GRIFFITH.
- ¹⁴ The Rt. Hon. Viscount HALDANE,
K.T., O.M.
- ²⁸ Dr. H. R. H. HALL.

* One of the First Fellows.

DECEASED FELLOWS, 1949 (continued)

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- ⁴ Professor F. J. HAVERFIELD.
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- ²⁶ Professor C. H. HERFORD.
- ²⁷ Professor G. DAWES HICKS.
- ²⁸ Professor A. PEARCE HIGGINS, C.B.E., K.C.
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- ^{*} Dr. S. H. HODGSON.
- ⁶ Dr. D. G. HOGARTH, C.M.G.
- ²³ Sir W. S. HOLDSWORTH, O.M., K.C.
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- ^{*} Dr. M. R. JAMES, O.M.
- ^{*} Sir R. C. JEBB, O.M.
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- ²³ Professor H. H. JOACHIM.
- ²³ Mr. W. E. JOHNSON.
- ⁴ Sir HENRY JONES, C.H.
- ¹⁵ Sir H. STUART JONES.
- ³⁰ Mr. H. W. B. JOSEPH.
- ⁹ The Rt. Hon. Lord Justice KENNEDY.
- ⁹ Professor C. S. KENNY.
- ³ Professor W. P. KER.
- ²⁰ The Rt. Hon. Lord KEYNES, C.B.
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- ²³ Professor J. LAIRD.
- ⁶ Mr. ANDREW LANG.
- ³¹ Professor S. H. LANGDON.
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- ⁵ Professor W. M. LINDSAY.
- ²² Dr. A. G. LITTLE.
- ³⁰ Sir J. E. LLOYD.
- ³ The Rt. Hon. Sir A. LYALL, G.C.I.E., K.C.B.
- ¹⁵ Sir CHARLES J. LYALL, K.C.S.I.
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- ⁶ Professor A. A. MACDONELL.
- ¹³ Sir JOHN MACDONELL, K.C.B.
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- ^{*} Mr. D. B. MONRO.
- ⁶ The Rev. Canon MOORE.
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- ³ Dr. A. S. MURRAY.
- ^{*} Sir JAMES A. H. MURRAY.
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- ¹⁵ Mr. W. L. NEWMAN.
- ³ Professor J. S. NICHOLSON.
- ²³ Professor R. A. NICHOLSON.
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- ²⁸ The Rev. Dr. J. W. OMAN.
- ²⁴ Professor A. C. PEARSON.
- ⁴ Dr. JOHN PEILE.
- ^{*} Professor H. F. PELHAM.
- ⁴ Sir W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE.
- ²⁴ The Rev. Dr. C. PLUMMER.
- ³⁰ Dr. A. F. POLLARD.
- ²² Dr. A. W. POLLARD, C.B.
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- ⁷ Professor J. P. POSTGATE.
- ²⁹ Professor C. W. PREVITÉ-ORTON.
- ²³ Professor H. A. PRICHARD.
- ⁴ Professor A. SETH PRINGLE-PATTISON.
- ³ Sir GEORGE W. PROTHERO, K.B.E.
- ²³ Dr. L. C. PURSER.
- ¹⁵ Sir JAMES H. RAMSAY, Bart.
- ²⁸ Dr. D. RANDALL-MACIVER.
- ³¹ Professor E. J. RAPSON.
- ^{*} The Very Rev. HASTINGS RASH-DALL.
- ¹³ Sir C. HERCULES READ.
- ^{*} The Rt. Hon. Lord REAY, K.T., G.C.S.I.
- ¹⁷ Professor JAMES SMITH REID.
- ^{*} The Rt. Hon. Sir JOHN RHYS.
- ²⁷ Admiral Sir HERBERT W. RICHMOND, K.C.B.
- ⁴ Sir WILLIAM RIDGEWAY.
- ²⁰ Professor J. G. ROBERTSON.
- ³ The Very Rev. J. ARMITAGE ROBINSON, K.C.V.O.
- ^{*} The Rt. Hon. the Earl of ROSEBURY, K.G., K.T.
- ¹⁷ The Rt. Rev. BISHOP RYLE, K.C.V.O.
- ¹¹ Professor GEORGE SAINTSBURY.
- ^{*} The Rev. Provost GEORGE SALMON.
- ^{*} The Rev. Professor WILLIAM SANDAY.
- ⁹ Sir JOHN E. SANDYS.
- ⁴⁴ Professor F. SAXL.
- ¹⁵ Professor W. R. SCOTT.
- ²⁷ Professor E. de SELINCOURT.
- ²⁹ Mr. A. F. SHAND.
- ⁴⁰ Dr. W. A. SHAW.
- ^{*} The Rev. Professor W. W. SKEAT.
- ²⁹ Professor D. A. SLATER.
- ²⁴ Mr. A. HAMILTON SMITH, C.B.
- ¹⁶ The Very Rev. Sir GEORGE ADAM SMITH.

DECEASED FELLOWS, 1949 (*continued*)

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| <p>⁸³ Professor G. C. MOORE SMITH.
 ⁸ Professor W. R. SORLEY.
 ²⁶ Professor ALEXANDER SOUTER.
 ²⁶ The Rt. Hon. Lord STAMP, G.C.B., G.B.E.
 ²¹ Sir AUREL STEIN, K.C.I.E.
 [*] Sir LESLIE STEPHEN.
 [*] Dr. WHITLEY STOKES, C.S.I., C.I.E.
 ⁸ Professor G. F. STOUT.
 ²⁵ The Rev. Canon B. H. STREETER.
 [*] The Rev. Professor H. B. SWETE.
 ¹¹ Professor A. E. TAYLOR.
 ²⁷ Professor H. W. V. TEMPERLEY, O.B.E.
 ¹⁶ Sir RICHARD TEMPLE, Bart., C.B., C.I.E.
 [*] Sir E. MAUNDE THOMPSON, G.C.B.
 ³⁴ Dr. R. CAMPBELL THOMPSON.</p> | <p>¹¹ Professor T. F. TOUT.
 ¹⁹ Dr. PAGET TOYNBEE.
 [*] The Rev. H. F. TOZER.
 ⁴ The Rt. Hon. Sir GEORGE O. TREVELYAN, Bart., O.M.
 ²¹ Mr. G. J. TURNER.
 [*] Professor R. Y. TYRRELL.
 ⁶ Sir PAUL VINOGRADOFF.
 ⁴ Sir SPENCER WALPOLE, K.C.B.
 [*] Sir A. W. WARD.
 [*] Professor JAMES WARD.
 ⁶ Sir G. F. WARNER.
 ²¹ Mrs. BEATRICE WEBB.
 ²² The Very Rev. H. J. WHITE.
 ²¹ Professor A. N. WHITEHEAD, O.M.
 ⁷ Professor J. COOK WILSON.
 ⁵ The Rt. Rev. JOHN WORDSWORTH.
 ⁴ Professor JOSEPH WRIGHT.</p> |
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RETIRED

- ¹⁰ Professor A. A. BEVAN.
¹⁷ Sir GEORGE A. GRIERSON, O.M., K.C.I.E.
²⁷ Dr. J. RENDEL HARRIS.
²⁶ Professor A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.
^{*} Sir W. M. RAMSAY.
²² Dr. J. HOLLAND ROSE.
²⁶ Dr. F. C. S. SCHILLER.
²¹ Professor JAMES TAIT.
²² Sir HERBERT THOMPSON, Bart.
⁸ Professor CUTHBERT H. TURNER.

HONORARY

- ²³ Dr. FRANCIS HERBERT BRADLEY, O.M.
²¹ The Rt. Rev. Bishop G. FORREST BROWNE.
¹⁶ The Rt. Hon. the Earl of CROMER, G.C.B., O.M.
²² Dr. CHARLES MONTAGU DOUGHTY.
¹⁶ The Rt. Hon. Sir SAMUEL WALKER GRIFFITH, G.C.M.G.
²² The Rt. Hon. Lord PHILLIMORE.
²⁹ The Rev. Professor A. H. SAYCE.
²⁸ The Rt. Hon. Viscount WAKEFIELD, G.C.V.O., C.B.E.

CORRESPONDING

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| <p>⁴ Count UGO BALZANI (Italy).
 ¹⁶ M. CHARLES BÉMONT (France).
 ¹¹ M. HENRI BERGSON (France).
 ²⁷ Professor JOSEPH BIDEZ (Belgium).
 ¹⁷ M. CHARLES BORGEAUD (Switzerland).
 ⁷ M. ÉMILE BOUTROUX (France).
 ²⁴ Dr. JAMES H. BREASTED (U.S.A.).
 ¹³ Professor F. K. BRUGMANN (Germany).
 ²² M. JEAN CAPART (Belgium).
 ¹⁷ Professor ÉMILE CARTAILLAC (France).
 ¹⁶ Senatore DOMENICO COMPARETTI (Italy).
 ²⁰ M. HENRI CORDIER (France).
 ¹⁶ Professor A. CROISSET (France).
 ¹⁶ M. F. CUMONT (Belgium).</p> | <p>²⁸ Professor ROBERT DAVIDSOHN (Germany).
 ²⁰ Père HIPPOLYTE DELEHAYE (Belgium).
 ⁷ M. LÉOPOLD DELISLE (France).
 ²⁷ Professor CHARLES DIEHL (France).
 ⁴ Professor H. DIELS (Germany).
 ¹⁰ Monseigneur DUCHESNE (France).
 ¹⁴ Mr. CHARLES W. ELIOT (U.S.A.).
 ²² Professor ADOLF ERMANN (Germany).
 ²⁴ Professor TENNEY FRANK (U.S.A.).
 ⁴ M. le Comte de FRANQUEVILLE (France).
 ²⁸ Professor WILHELM GEIGER (Germany).
 ²⁸ Professor OTTO von GIERKE (Germany).</p> |
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DECEASED FELLOWS, 1949 (continued)

CORRESPONDING (continued)

- ⁷ Professor BASIL L. GILDERSLEEVE (U.S.A.).
- ⁴ Professor M. J. de GOEJE (Holland).
- ⁴ Professor I. GOLDZIER (Hungary).
- ⁴ Professor T. GOMPERZ (Austria).
- ¹⁷ Senatore IGNAZIO GUIDI (Italy).
- ¹⁷ President ARTHUR T. HADLEY (U.S.A.).
- ⁷ Professor ADOLF HARNACK (Germany).
- ²⁶ Professor CHARLES HOMER HASKINS (U.S.A.).
- ¹⁷ Professor LOUIS HAVET (France).
- ⁴ Professor J. L. HEIBERG (Denmark).
- ⁴⁷ Professor ERNST E. HERZFELD (Germany).
- ⁷ Professor HARALD HØFFDING (Denmark).
- ⁷ Mr. Justice HOLMES (U.S.A.).
- ¹³ Professor CHRISTIAN SNOUCK HURGRONJE (Holland).
- ⁴⁴ Professor EDMUND HUSSERL (Germany).
- ⁷ Professor WILLIAM JAMES (U.S.A.).
- ¹⁸ Dr. J. FRANKLIN JAMESON (U.S.A.).
- ²¹ Professor OTTO JESPERSEN (Denmark).
- ⁴¹ Sir GANGANATH JHA, C.I.E. (India).
- ²⁰ Professor FINNUR JÓNSSON (Iceland).
- ³⁹ M. PIERRE JOUGUET (France).
- ¹¹ His Excellency M. J. JUSSERAND (France).
- ⁵³ Professor PAUL KEHR (Germany).
- ¹⁰ Professor G. L. KITTREDGE (U.S.A.).
- ²⁷ Professor WILHELM KROLL (Germany).
- ⁴ Professor K. KRUMBACHER (Germany).
- ²⁰ Professor C. R. LANMAN (U.S.A.).
- ¹⁶ M. ERNEST LAVISSE (France).
- ⁹ Mr. H. C. LEA (U.S.A.).
- ⁴⁴ Dom HENRI LECLERCQ, O.S.B. (France).
- ¹⁴ Professor ÉMILE LEGOUIS (France).
- ⁵⁸ Professor O. LENEL (Germany).
- ⁴ Professor F. LEO (Holland).
- ²⁶ Professor H. L. LÉVY-ULLMANN (France).
- ⁹ Dr. F. LIEBERMANN (Germany).
- ¹³ President A. LAWRENCE LOWELL (U.S.A.).
- ²⁶ Professor J. LIVINGSTON LOWES (U.S.A.).
- ²⁰ Dr. CHARLES LYON-CAEN (France).
- ⁷ Professor FREDERICK DE MARTEN (Russia).
- ⁵⁰ Dr. T. G. MASARYK (Czechoslovakia).
- ⁹ Don MARCELINO MENÉNDEZ Y PELAYO (Spain).
- ¹⁰ Professor EDUARD MEYER (Germany).
- ⁴ M. PAUL MEYER (France).
- ¹³ Professor ERNEST NYS (Belgium).
- ¹⁸ Professor B. M. OLSEN (Iceland).
- ¹⁴ M. H. OMONT (France).
- ²⁸ Professor WALTER OTTO (Germany).
- ³¹ Professor PAUL PELLIOU (France).
- ⁴ M. GEORGES PERROT (France).
- ⁴⁰ M. CHARLES PETIT-DUTAILLIS (France).
- ⁴ M. GEORGES PICOT (France).
- ²¹ Professor HENRI PIRENNE (Belgium).
- ⁵⁰ Professor PIO RAJNA (Italy).
- ²⁷ Professor EDWARD KENNARD RAND (U.S.A.).
- ¹¹ M. SALOMON REINACH (France).
- ⁹ His Excellency M. LOUIS RENAULT (France).
- ¹¹ Mr. J. F. RHODES (U.S.A.).
- ¹⁶ His Excellency M. RIBOT (France).
- ¹⁶ The Hon. ELIHU ROOT (U.S.A.).
- ¹⁶ Professor JOSIAH ROYCE (U.S.A.).
- ²² Professor REMIGIO SABBADINI (Italy).
- ⁷ Professor KARL EDUARD SACHAU (Germany).
- ⁴ Professor C. H. SALEMANN (Russia).
- ²³ Père VINCENT SCHEIL (France).
- ¹⁰ M. SENART (France).
- ⁹ Professor E. SIEVERS (Germany).
- ²⁶ Professor JYUN TAKAKUSU (Japan).
- ⁴⁰ Professor A. M. TALLGREN (Finland).
- ²⁵ Professor FRANCIS WILLIAM TAUSIG (U.S.A.).
- ⁹ The Prince of TEANO (Italy).
- ²⁸ M. F. THUREAU-DANGIN (France).
- ¹⁴ Signor PASQUALE VILLARI (Italy).
- ⁷ Professor ULRICH von WILAMOWITZ-MÖLLENDORFF (Germany).
- ²⁶ Professor ULRICH WILCKEN (Germany).
- ¹⁰ Professor D. ERNST WINDISCH (Germany).
- ²³ Professor THADDEUS ZIELINSKI (Poland).

THE BRITISH ACADEMY

OFFICERS AND COUNCIL

JULY 1949

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COUNCIL :

⁴⁸ THE REV. M. P. CHARLESWORTH.

⁴⁹ SIR A. W. CLAPHAM, C.B.E.

⁴⁷ DR. G. N. CLARK.

⁴⁹⁽⁴⁸⁾ THE REV. PROFESSOR C. H. DODD.

⁴⁸ PROFESSOR J. GORONWY EDWARDS.

⁴⁹ PROFESSOR H. A. R. GIBB.

⁴⁹ DR. W. W. GREG.

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⁴⁹ SIR P. H. WINFIELD.

TREASURER :

SIR F. G. KENYON, G.B.E., K.C.B.
BURLINGTON GARDENS, LONDON, W. 1.

SECRETARY :

DR. R. E. M. WHEELER, C.I.E.
BURLINGTON GARDENS, LONDON, W. 1.

⁴⁷ Elected 1947.

⁴⁸ Elected 1948.

⁴⁹ Elected 1949.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE
BRITISH ACADEMY

1949

BRITISH ACADEMY

ANNUAL REPORT

1948-9

1. DEATHS AND ELECTIONS.—The Academy has lost six Ordinary Fellows by death during the year: Mr. J. D. Denniston, Dr. Campbell Dodgson, Dr. J. L. Hammond, Sir George Hill, Dr. A. F. Pollard, and Professor A. Souter; and Professor F. de Zulueta resigned his Fellowship.

In July 1948 the following were elected to Ordinary Fellowship: Professor Sir Reginald Coupland, Professor G. C. Field, Professor C. F. C. Hawkes, Professor Sir Hubert Henderson, Dr. P. E. Kahle, the Rev. Dr. W. L. Knox, Professor H. Lauterpacht, Mr. W. A. Pantin, Professor R. Pares, the Rev. Professor C. E. Raven, Professor Leon Roth, Dr. J. V. Scholderer, and Mr. F. Wormald.

At the same meeting the following were elected to Corresponding Fellowship: Professor K. Latte, Professor G. le Bras, Dr. G. Lefebvre, Dr. P. E. Legrand, Professor C. I. Lewis, and Professor H. A. Thompson.

The total number of Fellows before the elections of July 1949 was 152 Ordinary Fellows and 48 Corresponding Fellows.

2. LECTURES.—The following lectures were delivered during the year on the foundations administered by the Academy:

WARTON LECTURE, by Professor Geoffrey Tillotson, on *The Manner of Proceeding in some Eighteenth- and Early Nineteenth-century Poems* (27 October).

SIR JOHN RHŶS MEMORIAL LECTURE, by Professor J. Lloyd-Jones, on *The Court Poets of the Welsh Princes* (24 November).

SCHWEICH LECTURES, by the Rev. Professor H. H. Rowley, on *From Joseph to Joshua: Biblical Traditions in the Light of Archaeology* (8, 10, 13 December).

ITALIAN LECTURE, by Dr. Victor Scholderer, on *Printers and Readers in Italy in the Fifteenth Century* (26 January).

WARTON LECTURE, by Professor Bonamy Dobrée, on *Patriotism in English Poetry, 1700-50* (16 February).

PHILOSOPHICAL LECTURE, by Professor Dorothy Emmet, on *Pre-suppositions and Finite Truths* (23 March).

SHAKESPEARE LECTURE, by Sir H. Thomas, on *Shakespeare in Spain* (27 April).

SIR ISRAEL GOLLANCZ MEMORIAL LECTURE, by Professor Angus McIntosh, on *Wulfstan's Prose* (11 May).

MASTER-MIND LECTURE, by Dr. Cyril Bailey, on *Lucretius* (1 June).

ASPECTS OF ART LECTURE, by Mr. F. Wormald, on *Paintings in Westminster Abbey and Contemporary English Paintings* (29 June).

RALEIGH LECTURE, by the Rev. Professor M. D. Knowles, on *Archbishop Thomas Becket: a character study* (13 July).

3. PUBLICATIONS.—The *Proceedings* for 1944 (vol. XXX) and the Schweich Lectures for 1944 (Professor G. R. Driver, on *Semitic Writing*) have been published, and *Diocesis Roffensis*, published by the Canterbury and York Society, and *Nam*, by Professor F. W. Thomas, published by the Philological Society, have been subsidized.

4. AWARDS.—The following prize and medal were awarded: Burkitt Medal for Biblical Studies: Professor Sigmund Mowinckel. Rose Mary Crawshay Prize: Miss Rosamund Tuve for her work on *Elizabethan and Metaphysical Imagery*.

5. REPRESENTATION.—Sir Alec Kirkbride (British Minister at Amman) and Professor K. A. C. Creswell were appointed to the Board of Trustees of the Palestine Archaeological Museum.

At the invitation of the Royal Academy of the Netherlands, Professor H. A. R. Gibb was appointed to represent the Academy at a meeting to consider a proposal for a new edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*.

The President and Mr. R. G. Hawtrey attended the meetings of the Council of Philosophy and Humanistic Studies at Brussels in January 1949.

Sir Charles Webster and Professor R. A. B. Mynors, with Professor J. H. Baxter as Assessor, were appointed to represent the Academy at the meeting of the Union Académique Internationale at Brussels in June 1949.

Professor W. M. Edwards (Leeds University) was appointed to the Court of Governors of Hull University College.

A letter of congratulation was sent to the Brandeis University in Massachusetts on the occasion of its inauguration.

6. ADMINISTRATION.—The Council has appointed an Advisory Committee to deal with business in first instance. It consists of five members, with the officers, and one member will retire each year after the May meeting of the Council. The members for 1949–50 are Sir A. W. Clapham, Dr. G. N. Clark, Professor J. Goronwy Edwards, Mr. R. G. Hawtrey, and Sir C. K. Webster.

The Council has also appointed Dr. R. E. M. Wheeler as Secretary in succession to Sir F. G. Kenyon, who has resigned after 22 years' service to the Academy, variously as President, Treasurer, and Secretary. Sir Frederic has very kindly consented to continue his services as Treasurer and as Secretary in an auxiliary capacity. It is proposed to make a presentation to him as a token of the Academy's deep appreciation of his long and invaluable guidance and of the affectionate regard in which he is held by the Fellowship.

A Committee has been appointed to advise on the administration of the Stein–Arnold Foundation, consisting of Mr. J. Allan, Professor

H. W. Bailey, Dr. Mortimer Wheeler, and Professor K. de B. Codrington, with power to add to their number. The first instalment of the bequest has been received.

7. **FINANCE.**—The Government grant has been continued at the previous figure of £2,500.

The following grants have been made in the course of the year:

<i>General Fund (renewals):</i>	£
Pipe Roll Society	100
Canterbury and York Society	100
Anglo-Norman Text Society	50
British National Committee of the International Historical Congress	35
Publication of Cotton MS. Julius E. 1. Second instalment . . .	300
Philological Society, for book by Professor F. W. Thomas on the language Nam	58
Concordance of Muslim Tradition	75
Corpus Platonicum	250
English Place-Name Society	150
Royal Institute of Philosophy	75
Professor P. Jacobsthal, for work on Celtic Antiquities . . .	50
Medieval Latin Dictionary	300

General Fund (new proposals):

Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire	50
International Academy of Comparative Law	35
Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum (Fitzwilliam Museum) . . .	225
British School at Rome for excavations in Tripolitania . . .	400
Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum	200
Examination of air photographs of Rhine Valley by Prof. Kahrstedt .	30

Schweich Fund:

Lexicon of Patristic Greek (renewal)	50
Egypt Exploration Society, in aid of publication of El Amarna .	100

8. **SCHOOLS OF ARCHAEOLOGY ABROAD.**—On the representation of the Academy the Treasury made the following grants:

British School at Athens	5,000
British School in Iraq	4,000
Institute of Archaeology at Ankara (including £3,500 for excavations by Sir L. Woolley at Atchana)	8,000
Egypt Exploration Society	4,500

It was also reported that a Treasury grant of £4,500 had been made to the British School at Rome.

9. **INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL FOR PHILOSOPHY AND HUMANISTIC STUDIES.**—This Council was established at Brussels in January 1949, and its standing committee held its first meeting in Paris on 5 May. Though set up on the initiative of Unesco, which will

assist it financially, the council will be an independent body, but will work in collaboration with Unesco, furnishing information and advice in all matters falling within its own sphere. It stands in fact to Unesco in the same relation as the older Council of Scientific Unions, and will act as a clearing-house and co-ordinating body for humanistic studies generally. It is really a federation of federations. Its nucleus is the Union Académique Internationale, which is always to have approximately two-fifths of the voting power. The other bodies at present represented on it are the International Commission on Folk Arts and Folk Lore, the Permanent International Committee of Linguists, the International Committee on Historical Sciences, the International Federation of Associations for Classical Studies, and the International Federation of Philosophical Societies. It is intended to limit the number of federated organizations to about 10 at most, and individual societies wishing to be associated with the council should join whatever international group is most suitable.

The Council will normally meet every three years, the standing committee at least once a year. The headquarters are to be in Brussels, but meetings may be held elsewhere, as in Paris this month. Applications for financial aid from organizations desiring assistance will be considered and eventually submitted to Unesco by the standing committee of the council, which will urge their claims with a greater weight of authority than an isolated body could do; and a committee has already been established to consider the question of bibliographies, in regard to which there has been overlapping in some spheres and a dearth in others. These are two illustrations of the part which the Council can play in the defence of humanistic studies, and other problems await it. The President of the Academy is a Vice-President of the Council.

10. PIPE ROLL SOCIETY.—During the past year the Pipe Roll Society has issued no volume to its members, but two volumes are in the press. The Pipe Roll for John's eleventh year will shortly be issued, and Professor Galbraith's edition of Balliol MS. 350 will be ready before the end of the year. The Pipe Roll for John's twelfth year will also go to press shortly. Printing costs make it impossible to continue the work of publication on the resources derived from subscriptions alone, and the Council of the Society requests the British Academy to renew the grant of £100 made to the Society in the past year.

11. ANGLO-NORMAN TEXT SOCIETY.—Amongst other works in hand, the preparation of an *Anglo-Norman Vocabulary* has reached an advanced stage. To meet the costs of publication a renewal of the Academy's grant of £50 is sought.

12. CANTERBURY AND YORK SOCIETY.—The final part of the Register of Hamo de Hethe, for which grants from the Academy have

been allocated, has been published. A large Appendix of documents to Archbishop Winchelsey's Register, drawn from manuscripts in the British Museum and belonging to the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury, has been sent to the press, and the Index and Introduction to this important register are in preparation. Nearly half of the Register of Bishop Montacute of Ely (the first Ely register) will also shortly go to the printer. The Society seeks the renewal of the Academy's grant of £100.

13. LEXICON OF PATRISTIC GREEK.—Much work has been done, including the writing of a number of major theological articles; notably a series on mystical terms by Miss Graef, another on important words in the history of Trinitarian doctrine and Christology by Miss Grosvenor, and articles by the Rev. G. W. H. Lampe on words connected with the Ministry and Sacraments. Dr. F. L. Cross has been engaged in the revision of the full list of authors read and editions used for the purposes of the Lexicon, and it is hoped that this list will shortly be published and may later be expanded to serve as a separate handbook of Patrology. He also prepared and printed a paper on the Lexicon designed to interest scholars and subscribers in the work. Copies of this paper can be had on request. At the Sixth International Congress of Byzantine Studies at Paris in August 1948 Dr. Cross read a paper on 'The projected Lexicon of Patristic Greek', which will appear in the proceedings of the Congress.

The staff has been increased, and valuable assistance has been received from Dr. G. L. Prestige, Professor G. R. Driver, Dr. G. D. Kilpatrick, the Rev. H. Chadwick, Mr. D. McKean, and others. The Lexicon is also indebted to the Custodian of the Library of Pusey House for the loan of texts, the Rev. B. J. Wigan for books and information, the Rev. F. Courtney, S.J., of Heythrop College for the loan of foreign periodicals, and, as in previous years, to Bodley's Librarian and the staff of the Bodleian Library.

14. MEDIEVAL LATIN DICTIONARY COMMITTEE.—Mr. R. E. Latham, the Editor of the Supplementary Word-List, has continued his selection of words to be included in the Supplement and has reached the letter M. He has reported that, while it has been possible to give extension of date to many words included in the published Word-List and to add many variant forms and derivatives, the proportion of completely new words has not so far been as great as had been hoped. It is probable that when the sorting of accruing contributions has been completed, larger additions of new words will be made. The Editor hopes to complete his selection from the existing collection of slips within the next twelve months.

The Committee has issued a revised set of Directions to Readers and an Appeal for new Readers. The latter has been published in an abridged form in suitable periodicals, to whose Editors the Committee is greatly indebted for their courtesy. A gratifying number of inquiries

from persons interested in the work of the Committee has been received. Many of these inquirers, including groups of University teachers under the leadership of Professors of Latin at Belfast and London, have volunteered to read texts. So far as possible, volunteers have been assigned texts dealing with subjects whose vocabularies have been inadequately treated hitherto, especially scientific subjects. Advantage has been taken of the decision to include in the sources for the Dictionary philosophical and scientific texts of the seventeenth and eighteenth century.

The Committee received a grant of £300 for its work during the year from the British Academy. For the year 1949-50 the estimated expenditure is £300, made up of £200 for editorial work, £50 for clerical assistance and sorting of slips, £20 for postage and stationery, and £30 for travelling expenses. Additional expenditure will be incurred as soon as the Editor has completed his preliminary work and has his material ready for typing; sufficient provision for as much of the cost of this as is likely to fall within the next financial year is forthcoming from the savings on the grant received for 1948-9. The Committee therefore asks that the Academy may renew its grant of £300 for the year 1949-50.

15. THE CORPUS PHILOSOPHORUM MEDII AEVI.—This corpus is one of the publications in which the Academy is taking a part with the Union Académique Internationale.

In connexion with the *Aristoteles Latinus*, Dr. L. Minio-Paluello was invited to visit Spain by the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, and examined all the relevant manuscripts in the National and Royal libraries of Madrid, in the Escorial, and in the Chapter libraries in Toledo and Seville. Work has been begun on the general indices for Vol. I; and information has been collected from the libraries utilized for Vol. I with a view to recording in Vol. II losses and displacements due to the war.

With regard to the *Corpus Platonicum*, Professor R. Klibansky reports as follows:

A. Plato Latinus

(1) *Plato, Parmenides—Proclus, Commentaria in Parmenidem*

The text and critical apparatus of Proclus' Commentary—that is, of the part found in the medieval Latin translation only—are with the printers.

The history of the Greek text, and the relation between the Greek and the Latin tradition of Proclus' work have been further investigated. Of the manuscripts containing the Greek text, the more important ones which were unknown to the former editors have been examined. As a result it has been confirmed that the Greek tradition goes back to an archetype of which the end, probably one folio, had been torn off at an early stage. The Greek manuscripts can now be divided into two

groups. In the first the mutilation of the archetype is clearly reflected; while the second is derived from an intermediary source, viz. an edition made by a Byzantine scholar who tried to make good the loss, partly by conjecture, partly by the addition of material gathered from other Neoplatonic writings.

In several Greek manuscripts, as well as in MS. Milan, Ambros. A 167 sup., containing the Latin translation, traces of an ancient gloss have been found which throws light on the history of the interpretation of Plato's *Parmenides* in the Neoplatonic school. It reveals that Plotinus' two outstanding pupils, Porphyry and Amelius, both commented on the dialogue.

Dr. L. Labowsky has found another MS. from the library of Cardinal Bessarion containing part of the Greek text of Proclus' Commentary; it is MS. Venice, Marc. gr. 288, s. XIV, which can be identified with cod. 379 in the old inventory of manuscripts bequeathed to the library of San Marco by the Cardinal.

To understand the peculiarities of the Latin text, and to elucidate difficult passages, it was necessary to pursue the study of William of Moerbeke's method of translation. With this end in view, translations of other Greek philosophical works due to the same author were re-examined by the General Editor in various Italian libraries. Of particular relevance in this context are Moerbeke's subscriptions to his renderings of some of the ancient commentaries on Aristotle (Simplicius *In Categorias* and Pseudo-Philoponus *In De Anima*) and his own copy of his translations of Archimedes (MS. Vatican, Ottobon. lat. 1850); but above all, a late manuscript, found in the Vatican Library, of his translation of the three treatises of Proclus on Providence, Fate, and Evil (Vat. lat. 4568, s. XVI). This manuscript is full of Greek marginalia, obviously derived from Moerbeke's copy, which make it possible to reconstruct some of the Greek terms of the now lost original texts. This discovery has some bearing on the edition of Proclus' commentary on the *Parmenides*; for it confirms the hypothesis that the Greek glosses contained in the Latin MS. Milan, Ambros. A 167 sup., s. XVI, go back to Moerbeke's autograph. It may be inferred that it was Moerbeke's habit to transcribe in the margins of his translations those Greek words which he did not understand, or about the rendering of which he felt doubtful. Thus, the marginal notes preserved in these manuscripts allow us to draw certain conclusions concerning Moerbeke's knowledge of Greek. It may be assumed, for example, that his vocabulary, or the glossary at his disposal, did not comprise archaic or poetic words, such as occur in the verses from Homer and the *Chaldaean Oracles* frequently quoted by Proclus.

(2) *Chalcidius' Translation of, and Commentary on, the Timaeus*

During a visit to England, Dr. J. H. Waszink, Professor of Latin at the University of Leiden, examined the Chalcidius MSS. of this country. He

has composed a critical apparatus to the translation of the *Timaeus*, based on 43 manuscripts, i.e. the more important manuscripts from Dutch, English, French, and Belgian libraries. He has established the classification of these manuscripts, based on his list of test passages. Dr. P. J. Jensen, Professor of Classics at the University of Copenhagen, has examined these test passages in 34 codices preserved in Italian libraries.

(3) *Plato, Phaedo*

The collations of the best manuscripts have been checked once more with the help of Dr. H. J. Drossaart Lulofs. The text and critical apparatus are now ready in page proofs. The editor, Dr. Lorenzo Minio-Paluello, has prepared complete Latin-Greek and Greek-Latin indices which should prove a valuable instrument for the study of medieval philosophical terminology and, in particular, of the vocabulary of Henricus Aristippus, the Sicilian translator.

(4) *Altavidius, De immortalitate animae*

This interesting text which is quoted by philosophers of the Quattrocento and by Patrizzi has recently been taken for a work of late Antiquity. In fact, however, it is a medieval treatise, based mainly on Chalcidius and Macrobius. It differs greatly from the many commentaries on these authors as it is conceived as an independent work, showing a certain originality. Little explored so far, it may well be the earliest known product of Italian Platonism of the twelfth century.—Dr. Eugenio Garin, Professor at the University of Florence, who has examined its connexion with Hermetic literature, is co-operating in the first edition of this work.

(5) *Research*

(a) In the course of his survey of the manuscript tradition of Medieval Platonism the General Editor found in the Vatican Library a part of an unknown work on Platonic philosophy. It is an account of Plato's works, summarizing one by one the contents of the dialogues. While not a mere translation from the Greek, it is certainly based on a Greek treatise which—judging from the trend of the comments—must have been a pre-Neoplatonic work, belonging to the doxographical literature of *Placita* and presumably dating from the second century A.D. It is more difficult to date the Latin text with similar precision; only a thorough study of its peculiar style will make it possible to determine in which epoch of late Latinity it was composed. Without a title of its own, it is found in a thirteenth-century manuscript of Apuleius' philosophical writings (Vatican, Reg. Lat. 1572) which belonged to Master Gérard of Abbeville, the adversary of Thomas Aquinas. The text, unfortunately corrupt in very many places, is of interest as it represents a form of exegesis of which no other example has survived in the literature of ancient Platonism.

(b) The first complete translation of Proclus *In Platonis Theologiam*, anonymous in most manuscripts, had been identified as the work of Petrus Balbus, made at the request of Cardinal Nicholas of Cues in 1462. A long preface by the translator, found in MS. Bergamo, Bibl. Civ. F. IV. 19, containing a dedication to King Ferdinand of Naples and an interesting appreciation of Nicholas of Cues, has been prepared for publication.

B. Plato Arabus

(1) *Galenus, Compendium Timaei aliorumque quae extant dialogorum fragmenta*

Owing to further delays caused by the printers in Beirut, hopes of an early publication of this work have not been fulfilled. A small part of the Arabic-Greek index has still to be set up in print. There is reason to believe that the book will at last appear within a year.

(2) *Alfarabi, Summary of Plato's Laws*

The edition of this text has been completed by Dr. Francesco Gabrieli, Professor of Arabic at the University of Rome, in the winter of 1947. The Latin translation is being revised by Dr. R. Walzer.

(3) *Theologia Aristotelis*

Several manuscripts of the work have been collated, an English translation and preliminary Greek-Arabic and Arabic-Greek indices have been prepared by Mr. G. Lewis, Oxford.

16. ENGLISH PLACE-NAME SOCIETY.—Three volumes of Cumberland are now going through the press, and work on Oxfordshire, which is probably the volume next to appear after Cumberland, is well advanced. Dr. Hugh Smith's West Riding of Yorkshire is also nearly ready to go to press. Mr. Kenneth Cameron's work on Derbyshire has made good progress, and Mr. A. G. C. Turner has done much of the preliminary work on Somerset, a difficult county, and one on which no volume of any merit has so far appeared. Dr. F. T. Wainwright has begun work on Leicestershire and Rutland.

17. ROYAL INSTITUTE OF PHILOSOPHY.—During the year, the expenses of the journal *Philosophy* amounted to £1,248. 13s. 4d., whilst sales to non-members and receipts for advertisements amounted to £956 14s. 10d. This figure indicates the extent to which readers, other than members of the Institute, make use of the Journal. A highly successful series of lectures was given by lecturers from the universities of Oxford, Cambridge, Edinburgh, Leeds, Sydney (Australia), Hull, and Wales. Costs, particularly of printing, continue to rise, and the Institute asks the Academy to renew its grant of £75.

18. ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.—The Journal is still published only twice yearly and in the reduced format, and *Śiva-Nāna-Bōdham*, a manual of Śaiva religious doctrine translated by the late Dr. Gordon Matthews, was published as Vol. XXIV in the James G. Furlong series. The Society asks the Academy for a continued and, if possible, increased grant.

19. BRITISH NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE INTERNATIONAL HISTORICAL CONGRESS.—(1) The Bibliography published with the assistance of the British Academy obviously met a deeply felt need. The first printing was sold out and another printing was well bought.

The preparations of the Bibliographies for the years since 1945 are well advanced under the direction of Dr. Frewer of Rhodes House, Oxford, and will either be published in the International Bibliography or separately.

(2) Professor Woodward has ceased to be Treasurer of the International Historical Congress. Sir Charles Webster has been elected a Vice-President of it.

(3) A meeting of the Assembly was held in Paris in April 1948 at which the decision was made to hold the Historical Congress at Paris in September 1950. A meeting of the Bureau was held in Copenhagen in October 1948 when the organization and character of the Congress were determined. Another meeting of the Bureau will be held in London at the end of June 1949 to make the final arrangements. The meeting of the Assembly was attended by Sir Charles Webster and Professor Woodward, and the meeting of the Bureau by Sir Charles Webster.

(4) An Anglo-French Conference has been arranged to take place in Oxford in September, 1949.

20. UNION ACADEMIQUE INTERNATIONALE.—Sir Charles Webster reports as follows:

(1) I have to report on the meeting of the Union Académique Internationale at Brussels on June 13–18. The full report of the meeting is not yet available. Professor Mynors will report separately on the subjects with which he dealt and Professor Baxter will no doubt do the same. In this report I deal with the general questions and the two other Commissions on which I sat.

(2) The meeting was a most important one as the question of the relations of the U.A.I. with the new Council of Philosophy and Humanistic Studies and through it with UNESCO came up for decision and action. I am glad to be able to report that full agreement was obtained on all points among the representatives of the U.A.I. on the proposals put before them. Dr. Bosch-Gimpera represented UNESCO and was able to announce that a number of grants had already been made

through the Council to the U.A.I. for various international projects. It is also now possible for an Academy Member to put forward a project to the U.A.I. with the hope of receiving substantial financial aid towards it if it is adopted by the U.A.I. I hope that at an early date the Council will consider whether the British Academy should not put forward such a project in which the co-operation of other Academies might be obtained. It might be advisable to call the attention of Chairmen of Sections to this possibility and also to bring it before the annual meeting of the Academy.

(3) To deal with this problem a special Commission was set up by the U.A.I. and after two long meetings a drafting committee was set up on which I served. With a few alterations at the final meeting the report was unanimously adopted by the U.A.I. and will be forwarded to the British Academy immediately. It will be noted that a new Secretary Adjoint is to be appointed for the new duties which will fall on the U.A.I. It may ultimately be necessary, in order to pay the honorarium and expenses of this official, to increase somewhat the *cotisation* of the Members, though nothing was said on this point at the meeting. On the other hand the Council should be able to provide considerable funds for the research projects of the Academies and the balance will be very much in their favour.

(4) This was well illustrated in the Commission on *Concordance et Indices de la tradition Musulmane*. The British Academy subscribed to this important project which is under the control of the Dutch Academy. This contribution together with those of two other Academies produced so good an effect that UNESCO will now give 3,400 dollars a year for the next two years and thus enable the work to be completed. Our subscription may therefore I think be reduced next year. A small Committee is to be set up to establish the international character of the work and the British Academy will be desired to appoint a member.

(5) Similarly the Commission on the *Dictionnaire de la Terminologie du Droit International* sponsored by the Norwegian Academy and under the direction of M. Basdevant, Judge of the International Court of Justice, will receive a contribution of 2,000 dollars in 1949 and probably 3,000 dollars in 1950. Contributions may also be expected in 1950 to the *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum* (3,000 dollars), *Dictionnaire du Latin Médiéval* (500 dollars), and *Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae* (4,000 dollars).

(6) Some changes were made in the Bureau. Professor Lugli, Secretary General of the Italian Academy, was elected a Vice-President, and, as I am very happy to report, Professor Mynors was elected Joint Honorary Secretary. He will thus be able to keep the British Academy in close touch with the work of the U.A.I. which is growing in importance and may well have a salutary influence on our own progress.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

By SIR H. I. BELL

13 *July* 1949

THE session of which this is the final meeting has witnessed a change to which I must refer at the beginning of my Address. Sir Frederic Kenyon, who since 1930 has served the Academy with such whole-hearted devotion as Secretary, has asked to be relieved of his duties and has resigned his post. His official connexion with the Academy will not, indeed, cease altogether, since he is, for the present at least, to make his long experience available to his successor by assisting him in the routine duties of the Secretaryship, and he will continue to be Honorary Treasurer; but this seems to be the occasion for expressing our sense of the services he has rendered. To commend him would, I feel, be an impertinence in me, who owe so much to him, both here and in what I may, in parliamentary phrase, refer to as 'another place'; but this at least I must say, that he brought to the post he is now vacating those qualities of ripe scholarship, balanced judgement, administrative capacity, and wide acquaintance with men and affairs which made his Directorship so memorable in the annals of the British Museum. We shall before long, I hope, have the opportunity for a more public and more adequate manifestation of our gratitude; for the present these few words must suffice. We wish him all happiness in his retirement, and rejoice that we shall still have the benefit of his wise counsel. I am glad to announce that he has consented to write a short history of the British Academy, a task for which his long experience, as Fellow, President, Secretary, and Treasurer, gives him unique qualifications.

The new Secretary, Dr. Mortimer Wheeler, comes to us with a high reputation alike as scholar and as administrator. His past experience is precisely of the kind likely to fit him in peculiar measure for his functions, and we can expect much from his energy and initiative. I should like, in my own name and in that of the Academy as a whole, to give him a hearty welcome to his new post, and to wish him an agreeable and successful tenure of it.

An administrative change usually suggests and gives opportunity for a general stocktaking, and your Council and Officers have been considering whether any improvements in our

organization are needful and possible. I have previously referred to unfavourable criticisms passed upon the Academy, both within and without our Fellowship, and have suggested that some of them were, if not misplaced, at least exaggerated, and that, so far as they have substance, the faults complained of are in large part due to the inadequacy of our financial resources; but when all reserves have been made it must be conceded that the complaints have not been uttered without reason. The Academy is not fulfilling as fully as it should the functions which it exists to perform, and it does not enjoy that reputation or that place in the national life which such a body might rightly claim. That this state of things should, if possible, be remedied is particularly desirable at the present time, when science and economics are claiming, as against the humanities, an ever larger place in education and public esteem. Far be it from me to say a word against the natural sciences, to which we owe so much, and without which the complicated structure of modern civilization would have little chance of survival; but I may surely say without impropriety that science and economics are not in themselves an adequate foundation for a rich and vital civilization. Science deals with the phenomenal world, economics with the material bases and structure of society; but the human spirit cannot be fed merely on a knowledge of phenomena and of economic factors. It is from the things of the spirit that the spirit draws its true sustenance; and it is with them that humanistic studies are concerned, it is primarily these studies which the Academy exists to represent. The speculations of the philosopher and the theologian, the record of human achievement and human failure and the efforts of mankind to construct a satisfactory frame-work for society which are the concern of the historian and the social scientist, the revelation of a loftier beauty and a deeper meaning in the universe and human life which we owe to great literature, to music, and the visual arts—it is these things alone which can give to even the most materially splendid civilization an abiding value and significance. The Academy is a body of scholars, not of writers or creative artists as such; but it is, or ought to be, the national centre and focus for humanistic studies. Its function is to vindicate their importance in the eyes of the nation, to defend and preserve the humanist tradition, and to uphold the highest attainable standard of disinterested scholarship. It is a lofty aim, but no lower one will justify our existence, and if we fail in our duty humanistic studies are likely to suffer proportionately.

It must in fairness be said that neither the Academy as a body nor its individual members and officers have been forgetful of their responsibilities. Our connexions with similar bodies in other countries and with international organizations, like the Union Académique Internationale and the new International Council for Philosophy and Humanistic Studies, of which your President is a Vice-President, are close and increasing.

I have said that our shortcomings may be attributed in large measure to financial reasons. The effects of these are various. Our premises are inconvenient and quite unworthy of such an institution. We need a larger clerical staff. The sum available for publications is inadequate, especially now that printing costs have increased so greatly. We have no library, nor even accommodation for such books as are from time to time presented to us. We have no room in which Fellows can conveniently meet for social intercourse, though the promotion of mutual acquaintance among scholars and of discussions on matters of common interest is surely among the functions of an Academy. We have no facilities for entertaining foreign visitors. Even our lecture room is very far from ideal, as all will agree who have ever lectured there or tried to keep awake during somebody else's lecture. With a necessarily part-time Secretary and one Assistant Secretary we lack the staff required if we are to make the contribution which might be expected of us to certain big undertakings of national or international scholarship. There are several such to which the Academy, if it had the necessary staff, might appropriately render valuable service by acting as the centre for the British share in the work. Lastly, an enlargement of our *Proceedings* by the inclusion of more articles other than annual lectures is both desirable and possible, and we are actually undertaking the publication of an extra volume, the edition of Cotton MS. Julius E. i; but alike for the *Proceedings* and for special publications financial considerations impose a strict limit. It is this necessity to curtail our activities which gives force to the objections brought by some Fellows against obituary memoirs. For my own part, I should be very sorry indeed to see these abandoned. Quite apart from the fact that they are a laudable act of piety towards the memory of deceased Fellows, they have a real value. No doubt they vary greatly in merit, but the best of them are valuable contributions to biography, or important assessments of a scholar's achievement in speculation or scholarship. The argument that they are unnecessary because the subjects will find a place in the *Dictionary of National Biography*

has little weight, since considerations of space make it quite impossible in that series to treat a man's life and work with the intimacy and fullness of detail seen in many of our memoirs. Nevertheless, it is true that obituary notices should be only a minor feature of an Academy's publications, and if our *Proceedings* have to be limited to their present size it can reasonably be argued that the memoirs occupy a disproportionate amount of space. And if our publishing activity be compared with that of many foreign Academies it must be conceded that we make but a poor showing.

It is, then, urgently necessary to augment our resources. How is this to be done? To increase the subscription, or the entrance fee, or both, would bar our doors to some scholars who ought certainly to be admitted. We cannot, without lowering our standards, have recourse to the expedient, open to most learned societies, of enlarging our membership. An endowment fund, founded and maintained by gifts or bequests from private benefactors, would be most desirable, but it is not to be had for the wishing. It is to an increase in the Government grant that we must look. We shall soon be celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of our foundation. Premises and financial and secretarial resources which sufficed in the earlier years of the Academy's existence are surely not adequate to the larger responsibilities and the changed economic conditions of to-day. There is every justification for submitting to the Treasury a case for a more liberal grant. But it must be a reasoned case, avoiding alike vagueness and exaggeration, and if we are to ask for more money we must be able to point to definite projects and a programme of future activity which justify the request.

It is with these and similar considerations in mind that the Council has appointed a small Advisory Committee to review our position, and has charged it with the duty of examining the state of our finances, the funds of the endowed lectures, the grants to other learned societies, and our whole future policy, and, if this appear to be justified, of preparing a memorial for submission to the Treasury. Meantime, even without augmentation of our revenue, we have taken the bold—I hope it will not appear the rash—step of engaging a part-time assistant to Miss Pearson. To Miss Pearson's energy and capacity, which have been placed with unfailing loyalty at our service, our debt is already heavy; and if the secretarial work is to be increased, which will be necessary if we are adequately to discharge our functions, we must provide her with some assistance.

It is necessary to add that insufficiency of funds is not the sole cause of the shortcomings alleged against the Academy, and that a mere change of machinery will not be an adequate remedy. The reputation and the efficiency of this or any other Academy depend ultimately on its members, on the spirit in which they regard their obligations towards it and their readiness to serve its interests. Election to the Academy is, I venture to think, a privilege which even the most distinguished scholar can justifiably regard as such; but a privilege implies responsibilities, and though not a few of our Fellows have shown themselves fully aware of that fact, have been jealous for the honour of the Academy, and ready at all times to exert themselves on its behalf, there are others who appear to regard election as no more than a recognition of past achievement, carrying with it no duties for the future. It has been pointed out more than once that it is desirable to enlarge the scope of the *Proceedings*, and Fellows have been invited, nay, urged, to offer contributions, but very few have responded. I feel some awkwardness in speaking of this, knowing that I am myself among the offenders. I can recall but one article, apart from obituary memoirs, from my own pen, and of that I was only part author. But a consciousness of his own failures has never been held to preclude a man from perceiving the faults of others. No doubt there are extenuating circumstances. For reasons already explained articles for the *Proceedings* must be limited in both number and extent. Many Fellows are engaged in what the French happily call *œuvres de longue haleine* and have little time for other commitments, and for anything of less extent that they may write there is much demand elsewhere. Editors of learned periodicals pester them for contributions; appeals are received to support some *Festschrift* or other, an institution laudable enough in itself but to-day rather overdone. Yet it is useless to complain that the *Proceedings* lack variety and substantial importance if even the critics themselves ignore them.

There are other negligences which call for comment. The attendances at the Sections Meeting in April and at the Annual General Meeting in July, though both occur during university vacations, are often very poor. It is quite common for a fairly large Section to be represented by only two or three members, not unknown for the Chairman to be the sole member present. Here again excuses may be made. Many Fellows live at a distance from London, some have reached an age when they find it advisable to avoid much travelling, and a busy university

teacher may feel that he has earned a holiday when term is over. But too many Fellows do not even record a postal vote or respond to appeals for the suggestion of possible candidates. A praiseworthy reluctance to express an opinion on some scholar whose work is quite unknown to them may be a sufficient explanation in many cases; but when all allowances have been made I venture to think that there is a degree of indifference to responsibilities which gives cause for regret, and I would appeal to all Fellows for a more lively interest in our work. The Advisory Committee has already recommended that papers by Fellows or non-Fellows should from time to time be read to the Academy, apart from the endowed lectures. I hope that this suggestion will be acted upon. The Academy will be what we choose to make it, and an individual responsibility lies upon each one of us.

I come now to the themes which have most often formed the starting-point of a Presidential Address. First, I must welcome the ten newly elected Fellows, who are distributed over eight of our Sections.

During the past year six Fellows have died, and Professor de Zulueta has resigned. There have been several such resignations of Fellows who, having reached a certain age, have felt it proper to make room for younger men. It is a laudable impulse, but I hope the precedent will not become a settled practice. We do not readily say farewell to a colleague who has deservedly won his place among us, and there seems to me no reason, despite what I have said, why a man should feel bound to retire because he can no longer take an active part in our proceedings.

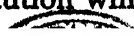
Two days ago I received from Paris news of the death of Pierre Jouguet, one of our Corresponding Fellows, whose friendship I had enjoyed for forty years. A native of southern France, he was a true *méridional* in the geniality, kindliness, and sunny warmth of his temperament. To these qualities he added the modesty, the critical caution, and the humanism of the true scholar, and the courtesy and fine feeling of a gentleman. Since the early years of the century he had been the leader of papyrological studies in France, as a Professor first at Lille and later at the Sorbonne. At the former university he organized a group of enthusiastic young papyrologists, among them the much-loved Jean Lesquier, whose early death was so heavy a loss to scholarship, and he was largely instrumental in producing the edition of the Lille papyri. In 1911 he published his *Papyrus de Théadelphie*; and his *Vie municipale dans l'Égypte romaine*, which

appeared the same year, has ever since been an indispensable book of reference to every papyrologist. It was followed later by his *L'Impérialisme macédonien et l'hellénisation de l'Orient*, contributed to the series 'L'évolution de l'humanité'. After becoming Director of the Institut français at Cairo he had little leisure for anything but administrative work, but he continued to take a directing part in various scholarly and archaeological undertakings, and to contribute to periodicals articles and reviews of invariable distinction. A man of international sympathies, he was also a patriotic Frenchman. On the fall of France in 1940 he at once rallied to the side of General de Gaulle, and was the Chairman of the Free French Committee at Cairo. He will be mourned by all who had the privilege of his acquaintance, and the sixth International Congress of Papyrologists, which is to meet at Paris in August, and over which he was to have presided, will be a sadly truncated festival without him.

Sir George Hill, whose friendship, first as a colleague and later as Director of the British Museum, I was proud to enjoy, died last October. He had a range of knowledge and a variety of interests which recall the more spacious days of a vanished generation. Classic and medievalist, historian, numismatist, and a discriminating connoisseur of music and the visual arts, he had enriched with his learning, taste, and critical judgement many different fields of scholarship, and tasted life in many aspects. He was a man of great kindness, though he could be sharp in his judgements, and his friends will cherish his memory with affection.

Two months before him had died another Fellow of high distinction, A. F. Pollard, whose work, alike as an historian whose researches have left a permanent mark on historical scholarship and as an inspirer of others, will not soon be forgotten. It is gratifying to know that his creation, the Institute of Historical Research, has won an assured place in the world of international scholarship, and has become a centre and a meeting point for historians not only from the British Isles but from many foreign countries.

Three days before the last Annual General Meeting died Campbell Dodgson, an unsurpassed authority on wood-cuttings and engravings, particularly those of the German school, a discriminating collector, and for twenty years Keeper of the Department of Prints and Drawings at the British Museum. He was, both during his life-time and by his will, a generous benefactor of the great institution which he had served so loyally.



Professor Souter, for twenty-six years Regius Professor of Humanity at Aberdeen, who died last January, was a learned Latinist, doing specially valuable work in the sphere of Latin lexicography; but he devoted himself with particular enthusiasm to the textual study of the New Testament, and he had, indeed, been Professor of New Testament Greek and Exegesis at Mansfield College from 1903 to 1911. His critical edition of the Greek New Testament has won an assured place in the libraries of scholars and students. He was a man of a genial and kindly personality, for whom pupils and friends alike felt a warm and affectionate regard.

In J. L. Hammond we have lost a distinguished historian, whose studies of social and economic conditions may without exaggeration be said to mark an epoch in our understanding of the Industrial Revolution and its consequences. In most of these studies he had his wife as collaborator, and it was a striking, perhaps a unique, recognition of their partnership when the University of Oxford in 1933 conferred upon them simultaneously the honorary degree of D.Litt. Hammond's activities had by no means been confined to industrial history or even to historical studies in general. His work on *Gladstone and the Irish Nation* enjoys a high reputation, and he had long experience alike of journalism (he was for some years editor of *The Speaker*) and of administration in the Civil Service.

The death of J. D. Denniston is a serious loss to the Academy and the learned world, for he was a scholar of a type becoming rarer in a society increasingly given to activities and methods which yield quick results. Though he was, I believe (I had not the privilege of a personal acquaintance), a man of wide culture, passionately fond of music, and endowed with imagination and taste, he devoted himself for years to the task of studying the often baffling behaviour of the Greek particles. His bulky work on this somewhat intimidating theme has been generally acclaimed as a monument of erudition and critical scholarship. Let no one suppose that it was an undertaking unworthy of his attainments. Scholarship, however attractively its results may be presented, must rest ultimately on a basis of laborious research into often small minutiae. Without that basis the whole fabric will be shaky. Unless we satisfactorily 'settle *Hoti's* business' our apprehension of the texts we read will be proportionately the more precarious and our scholarship will tend to be bogus. There is an old feud, by no means confined to classical studies, between the 'pure' scholar, absorbed in the meticulous

investigation of small details and resolute not to overlook any piece of relevant evidence, and the scholar who, with a broader view and a more agile pen, but making use, if he is wise, of the other's researches, can attractively present the results of scholarship to a wider public than the small circle of experts. The first is apt to accuse the second of being a superficial smatterer intent on popularity, the second to regard the first as a desiccated pedant pursuing a barren and unrewarding erudition. There is sometimes an element of truth in both views—few men combine in equal measure the capacity for meticulous research and for broad generalization—but often there is in either judgement more prejudice than justice. Neither type of scholar can be spared. Without the concentrated labours of the one the edifice of scholarship will be insecure; without the other it will tend to become a sterile specialization, divorced from the life of mankind. Our Academy exists primarily to foster and defend the ideal of exact and disinterested learning; but it would be a disaster if we forgot that scholarship, like other disinterested activities of men, should be an enrichment of human experience, and that it is our function to preserve the connexion between letters and life. It may, I think, fairly be claimed that British scholars in general have known how to be scholarly without ceasing to be human.

ANNUAL ITALIAN LECTURE FOR 1948
PRINTERS AND READERS IN ITALY
IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

By VICTOR SCHOLDERER

Fellow of the Academy

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DURING the first generation of its existence, that is to say, down to the end of the fifteenth century, the Italian printed book had won for itself a primacy scarcely in any respect to be questioned, and the Italian genius was at the height of its scientific achievement. Yet the printing art itself, so far-reaching in its consequences, was invented and perfected entirely by northerners, and it did not penetrate to the south for some ten years after the 42-line Bible had been struck off at Mainz. It might well, we think, have been otherwise. Leon Battista Alberti, that 'uomo universale' who flourished at the very same time as Gutenberg, 'acquired', as we are told, 'every sort of accomplishment and dexterity, cross-examining artists, scholars and artisans of all descriptions, down to the cobblers, about the secrets and peculiarities of their craft'.¹ Did none of the scholars whom he interviewed complain of the difficulty and expense of obtaining the books necessary for their studies, and did nothing seen in the shops of the metal-workers ever suggest to him the possibility of a way of artificial writing prompter and less liable to error than the scribes' pen and ink? We are told, again, that the most populous cities of Italy were full of political exiles who, in the words of Gioviano Pontano, 'took their virtues with them wherever they went'.² Such precisely was the status of Gutenberg, expatriate at Strasburg, where his first experiments in typography were made; but if any among the crowds of well-deserving refugees mentioned by Pontano proposed to himself a similar end, assuredly nothing came of it. It may be that a chronic shortage of books was after all a more grievous handicap in the north than under a southern sky, where ease of personal contact and oral instruction could to some extent mitigate it;

¹ From the anonymous biography of Alberti (possibly an autobiography), as quoted by Burckhardt, *Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy* (Phaidon Press, 1944), p. 86.

² *Ibid.*, p. 83.

the academy and the learned society were characteristically Italian institutions. And there can be no doubt that the literati of Italy looked for patronage in the first instance to princes and nobles who deemed worthy of their attention only manuscripts of the finest quality, such as even the most careful typography must despair of rivalling. Vespasiano Bisticci, book-purveyor to Federigo of Urbino, tells us that the Duke his master would have held it shame to own a printed book, and many of his rank will have shared his opinion; in such company technical improvements in book-production could scarcely expect much consideration. It might be added that the fever of political tension in which the major powers of Italy had their being would be likely to attract inventive genius to the arts of war rather than of peace—we know from our own experience how widely Mars may so usurp upon the Muses. But Gutenberg can no more be imagined recommending his type-casting instrument to Ferrante of Naples than offering a new kind of gun to the burghers of Mainz for use against their Archbishop.

Be this as it may, the printing art was already familiar to at least three different places in Germany before it crossed the Alps, and the first book printed for the Italian market, a meditation in Italian on the passion of Christ, was produced in Germany during that early period, to be conveyed to its destination by colportage.¹ A full decade probably separates the first books of Mainz from the first books printed on Italian soil, which, as is universally agreed, were the work of two German clerics in minor orders, Conrad Sweynheym and Arnold Pannartz, at the Benedictine monastery of Subiaco, some thirty miles due east of Rome. This house was under the special patronage of the Spanish Cardinal Juan de Torquemada, who was now in his seventy-sixth year but whose mind was still commendably open to new ideas, since it must have been at his invitation that the printers set up their press in the monastic precincts. Four books were completed by them at Subiaco, and the three most substantial of these reflect very exactly the mixed ecclesiastical and humanistic preoccupations of a prelate of the High Renaissance: they are the *De oratore* of Cicero, the works of Lactantius, an apologetic writer of the third century known from the purity of his Latin as 'the Christian Cicero', and St. Augustine's *City of God*. The fourth book catered

¹ K. Haebler ('Die italienischen Fragmente vom Leiden Christi', in: *Beiträge zur Forschung . . . Antiquariat Jacques Rosenthal*, 1927) is in all probability mistaken in supposing this tract to have been printed as well as distributed in Italy.

for quite another class of reader, being the elementary Latin grammar of Aelius Donatus, which, after enjoying almost unchallenged supremacy as a schoolbook during the Middle Ages, was now considered a mere relic of barbarism by the new learning. It must, nevertheless, have still been in demand among old-fashioned educationalists, as no copy of the Subiaco edition is known to exist to-day.

The two partners were occupied at Subiaco for barely three years, moving on to Rome itself in 1467. The Cardinal, for whatever reason, had lost interest in their doings, and when in the same year he determined to make public a work of his own, a series of meditations on the life of Christ, the contract went to a rival craftsman from Germany, Ulrich Han, who adorned it with woodcuts reputed to reproduce the frescoes which Torquemada had caused to be painted in the church of Santa Maria de Minerva; these cuts are the earliest in any Italian printed book and among the very first in any printed book whatsoever. Meanwhile Sweynheym and Pannartz, establishing themselves in the palazzo of the brothers De' Massimi, embarked on a programme of work which had taken on the character of a library of classical literature when in the spring of 1472 they were pulled up short by the imminent threat of bankruptcy consequent on an overstocked market. The story is well known how, starving in a palaceful of unsaleable print, they appealed for help to the newly elected Pope Sixtus IV (luckily a humanistic enthusiast), and how he afforded them sufficient relief to carry on for another twelvemonth before their partnership was dissolved for good. The frustration of a venture celebrated from the first for the beauty of its productions, which incidentally have inspired some equally splendid typography in modern times,¹ was no doubt in part due to want of commercial foresight, but its main cause must be considered to be the disequilibrium of Roman society in the Quattrocento. The printers depended all but completely on the patronage of the Curia; when the interest of popes and cardinals in the novel experiment languished, as was sooner or later inevitable, there was no alert and moneyed middle class, such as existed in Venice or Milan, on which they could fall back for fresh custom. This is the true reason why printing at Rome in the early period 'cannot be said to have either fulfilled the promise of its enthusiastic beginning or produced a total output

¹ The type used by C. St. John Hornby for the magnificent Ashendene Dante of 1909 and Boccaccio of 1920 is a replica of the letter cut by Sweynheym and Pannartz at Subiaco.

worthy of so great a City'.¹ Here and there a book such as the Ptolemy of 1478 with maps engraved by Sweynheym or the Missal printed by Stephan Plannck in 1496 redeems it, but few illustrated works and very little in the vernacular is found in it, while the typography is seldom distinguished and sometimes sinks to very low levels. Law books, generally of unprepossessing appearance, and short occasional tracts form its staples, and it is noticeable that the list of its printers contains very few Italian names. The total number of editions issued in Rome to the end of the century is probably not less than 1,500, but this figure loses its impressiveness when analysed, since it is blown up by a multitude of thin pamphlets containing the matter of innumerable sermons preached before the Pope on Sundays and at high solemnities, or of the loyal addresses presented to him on his accession by the spokesmen of official deputations from all over Europe. The obligation to sit through so many harangues was felt to be very irksome, and a sermon briefer than the ordinary was greeted with universal satisfaction,² but the orators, who had put forward their very best Latin for the occasion, were naturally desirous of making the most of themselves in print, so much so that two of the Roman presses were kept constantly busy on this ephemeral literature, which accounts for well over one-tenth of the statistical grand total. Others about the papal court were not content with so simple a form of advertisement, and a Sicilian named Giovanni Filippo de Legname, who describes himself as a 'familiar' of Sixtus IV, seems to have set up what corresponded to the private press of modern times mainly for the purpose of printing the writings of the Pope himself and of others in authority, and providing them with suitable dedications, directed where they might fructify. His editions, as befits a private press, were very small, averaging no more than 125 copies, but in the case of the Pope's own work this number was increased to 300, a fact of which the dedication was careful to inform His Holiness.

Printing was already a matter of history at Subiaco and had taken firm root in Rome at the moment of its introduction into Venice, where it was soon to flourish incomparably. Here, in the bourgeois atmosphere of a great mercantile centre, its development took a very different course. John of Speyer, a well-to-do

¹ A. W. Pollard's introduction to Part IV of the *Catalogue of books printed in the XVth century now in the British Museum*, p. xvi.

² 'fuit breuissimus, ideo ab omnibus laudatus', comments Johannes Burchardus in his *Diarium* on one of these preachers.

italianized German who had long been resident in Venice, opened the first printing office there in 1469, doubtless with the assistance of experts from the country of his origin. The processes of typography, which Gutenberg was still able to treat as a trade secret, were by this time common property; mindful of this fact, John endeavoured to safeguard himself from competition by securing a patent of monopoly from the Signoria. From Sweynheym and Pannartz he probably took over the practice of ending his books with a colophon in verse, in which, more fortunate than they, he had no need to apologize for his uncouth Teutonic surname, but he was indebted to them for little else. The appeal of his work is to the general public and not to the aristocracy, while his fount of roman type, so different from the angular masses of the first founts used at Rome, already foreshadows in its unobtrusive flow those qualities which were to recommend the 'literae venetae' of twenty years later to readers all over Europe.

John of Speyer died in 1470, only a year after he had set up his press, and his privilege, which was personal to himself, lapsed before it could become a serious check on enterprise. The Signoria, aware of its mistake in granting it, henceforward extended its protection only to specific books or technical innovations—a first step towards the modern system of copyright. John's brother Wendelin continued the business, which before the end of 1470 had already two rivals and two years later not less than a dozen; the total output from them all had probably reached 200 editions by the end of 1472. As at Subiaco and Rome, the first text selected for printing was Ciceronian, John of Speyer starting with the *Epistolae ad familiares* and reprinting them immediately, so that 600 copies of this text were on the market before the last quarter of 1469. The emphasis continued to be on humanistic literature—classical texts, grammars to enable them to be understood, and contemporary exercises in the ancient manner—so much so that pretty well two-thirds of the books produced in these years (1469–72) belong to this class. It thus comes as no surprise when we find that the glut of humanistic books hit the Venetian book-trade almost as hard as the Roman in the critical year 1472. We can easily imagine with what exuberance the devotees of the new learning clamoured for the multiplication of their beloved classical texts. The printers, foreigners as most of them were, had allowed themselves to be taken off their guard by so much southern *brio*, and now they were paying the penalty. In the north there was never a similar

crisis; more sober reading habits prevailed, to which publishing found it easier to adapt itself. A successful appeal to the Pope had tided Sweynheym and Pannartz over the worst, but this form of insurance was not available at Venice, and thus the printers were happily induced to enlarge the scope of their appeal so as to embrace every section of the reading public. The promptitude with which they turned over to this as the only satisfactory long-term policy redeemed their initial failure in business acumen, and Venetian publishing was soon as much to the fore in almost every subject as it had originally been in respect of the classics. What was destined to be perhaps its most lucrative line, editions of the *Corpus juris* and canon law with commentaries, now showed a rapid increase. Wendelin of Speyer must have the credit for striking this vein when as early as 1471 he realized that there was a certain prejudice amongst lawyers against the humanistic associations of roman letter and deferred to it by providing himself with a gothic fount suitable for legal work. He was, however, soon surpassed by the famous Frenchman Nicolas Jenson, who, employing two beautifully harmonious gothics and taking great pains to ensure the accuracy of his texts, helped Venice, not without good profit to himself, to a pre-eminence in this field which for some time came near to a monopoly. A little later Baptista de Tortis started on a series of such books which became known all over Europe and for which the words 'volumen de Tortis' on the title-page constituted a sufficient advertisement; so well considered were they in Spain that 'letra de tortis' passed into the language as the equivalent of 'gothic letter'. Of one of these editions we know that it was struck off in no fewer than 2,300 copies, totalling little short of 1,500,000 large folio pages. While it is probable that jurisprudence supplied the Venetian printers with what were on an average their bulkiest texts, they were never reluctant to put in hand works of substance in any department of literature, and this makes all the more impressive the figure of some 4,500 editions credited to them in the thirty-two years from 1469 to 1500. As the total of all editions produced in Europe during the period is conjecturally placed at rather more than 30,000,¹ the contribution of Venice does not fall far short of one-seventh of the whole, and if we assume an average of 250 copies to the edition—which is possibly an understatement—we arrive at the impressive total of 1,125,000 printed books offered by Venice to the reading public by the beginning of the sixteenth century.

¹ Excluding broadsides, proclamations, advertisements, and the like.

These figures may be commended to the attention of historians as helpful in estimating the degree of literacy, as well as the desire for learning, in Italy at this time, and they may be reinforced by 1,500 editions from Rome, over 1,000 each from Milan and from Florence, and nearly 700 from Bologna.¹

While no fewer than 150 'presses' can be distinguished as having worked at Venice during the early period, analysis of this formidable total shows, as we might expect, that a minority of powerful firms was in real control of the trade.² At first the two associations of foreign craftsmen represented respectively by the Germans John and Wendelin of Speyer and their successors and by the Frenchman Jenson were paramount, and they became still more influential when at the end of the 1470's they amalgamated under the title of De Colonia, Jenson and Company. A little later, anticipating the now-familiar tripartite organization of publisher, printer, and bookseller, the syndicate concentrated on the book-market, leaving the actual typography to others; its stationers were to be found all over Italy, and abroad as well. By this time the Italians had taken the measure of the situation, and the leading enterprises were from about 1480 onwards almost all controlled by Italians. Printing nevertheless continued on the lines originally laid down by the foreign craftsmen. The influence of Jenson's celebrated roman, immediately recognized as an unsurpassed model, can be felt in many later types more economical for ordinary book-work, and his four gothics, the two later rather more florid than the earlier, were subsequently much modified but never quite forgotten. Another foreigner, Erhard Ratdolt of Augsburg, came forward in 1480 with the first of a series of more 'modern' gothics which left their mark both on Venetian printing and on that of his own country when he returned thither in 1486, while earlier his partner and fellow townsman Bernhard Maler had designed for his type-pages the well-known decorative borders unsurpassed until the days of William Morris, than which scarcely anything,

¹ See C. Wehmer, 'Inkunabelkunde' (in *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, Jahrg. 57 (1940), p. 230). The oddly precise figure of 2,835 editions is assigned to Venice by Sir J. E. Sandys in his *History of Classical Scholarship*, vol. ii (1908), p. 97, but he does not say how it was obtained. All his figures for the output of early books are far too low.

² Of some 153 Venetian presses listed in Robert Proctor's *Index to the early printed books in the British Museum* (1898) and his *Supplements* to that work, only thirty-one are represented by more than twenty editions, while no fewer than eighty-three do not attain to half a dozen and twenty more fall short of the dozen.

one might think, could be more Italianate. Native craftsmen were largely content to follow the foreign lead until Aldus Manutius produced, as the century drew to an end, a roman of much originality which later became a favourite model; his best-known invention, the italic, falls outside the period. The Italian-designed borders are generally of the 'Renaissance' or classicizing kind less suitable for surrounding print than Maler's and with one striking exception¹ are not so carefully executed.

The contrasting patterns of the book-trade as developed respectively at Rome and at Venice have been described at some length, since the histories of other Italian printing centres generally follow either the one or the other. In the great cities the pattern is the Venetian one of a few large concerns, or it may be a single powerful combine; Milan is the most important instance of these, being, *longo intervallo*, the only rival of Venice; below it rank Bologna and Naples. In the smaller places, on the other hand, all as a rule depended upon individual patrons or small interested groups, and local printing was a transient phase in consequence; of this I shall say more presently. There is, however, one city which, in this as in other respects, stands apart, and that is Florence. The first press there, of which we know little save that it started work in 1471, immediately strikes a new note by printing three of the love-romances which are among the parerga of the great Alberti, then nearing the end of his life. In the following year comes a very remarkable book, the *editio princeps* of Servius's commentary on Virgil, in large folio. It was the work of Bernardo Cennini, the goldsmith 'skilful beyond all others' in his own estimation, who executed some of the splendid reliefs on the reredos of the Baptistery at Florence, and he undertook the task in the true Renaissance spirit to show that he could do this also. Without regular training as a printer and with only his son Domenico, a youth of nineteen, to assist him, he designed, cut, and cast the type and put his folio of 230 leaves through the press apparently in little more than a twelvemonth. 'Florentinis ingeniis nihil ardui est' boasts the sentence which concludes the second part, and we feel no inclination to demur. So strikingly inaugurated, humanistic printing at Florence continued to be touched to different issues than elsewhere. While little was added to the common run of classical editions, a number of Greek texts

¹ This is the imposing black-ground border surrounding the first page of text of the Latin Herodotus printed by the brothers De Gregoriis in 1494; it is discussed in Josef Poppelreuter, *Der anonyme Meister des Poliphilo* (1904).

testifies to the efforts of her scholars, headed by Marsilio Ficino, to track Hellenism to its source. Ficino, the leading spirit of the Florentine Academy over which Lorenzo the Magnificent himself presided, was a neo-Platonist rather than a Platonist proper, but he deserved eminently well of the Master by his complete Latin version of the dialogues which he succeeded with some difficulty in getting printed in the year 1485; although the edition consisted of no fewer than 1,025 copies, another was prepared at the cost of Lorenzo himself only six years later, but this time at Venice. These two books, together with an edition of Ficino's commentaries on five select dialogues, are practically the only publications directly connected with Plato which were put forth by the new art during the 1400's; the Greek originals, except for the Letters, remained unprinted until 1513. In the forefront of the other texts printed in the Greek tongue at Florence stands the magnificent *editio princeps* of Homer, which we owe to the joint efforts of two Florentines, a Milanese Cretan (so he styles himself), and an Athenian. Below this come the first editions of Euripides—four plays only—of Lucian, of Callimachus, of Apollonius Rhodius, and of the Anthology, the last-named printed throughout in capitals; the editor, Janus Lascaris, found the available Greek cursives not to his mind. The eagerness which the Florentines brought to classical studies is illustrated by a passage from a letter of Jacobus Antiquarius to Politian in 1489. 'When I went the other day into one of our public offices', writes Antiquarius, 'I found the clerks quite neglecting their proper business, engrossed in reading a book which had been distributed in sheets among them. I asked what new book it was, and they said: "Politian's *Miscellanies*". So I too climbed up to their desk and began eagerly to read.'¹ The volume which so bemused these old-time civil servants was a collection of observations on obscure passages in the Latin classics; one can scarcely imagine an officeful of their present-day successors yielding to a like distraction. Turning from ancient to Italian letters, we find that the earliest effort to provide readers of the *Divina Commedia* with a worthily illustrated edition was made at Florence in 1481. It took the shape of a large folio in which the text is surrounded by Landino's commentary, and a space is left at the beginning of each canto, destined to be filled by an etching based in each case upon a design from the hand of Botticelli. The attempt was for technical reasons a failure, and the etchings were discon-

¹ Quoted in J. A. Symonds, *Renaissance in Italy: the revival of learning* (1882), pp. 352, 353.

tinued after the nineteenth canto of the *Inferno*. Had it succeeded, no other of the fifteen editions of Dante's epic produced in the early period could have compared with it. It may be noted that this is the only Florentine edition among the fifteen, and there was possibly in the minds of its promoters (of whom Landino himself was no doubt one) the idea of an *amende honorable* posthumously offered on behalf of the city to the illustrious exile.

The most remarkable episode in Florentine printing, however, pertains to quite different matters. Everywhere in Italy, though to a somewhat lesser extent than in Germany, religious literature was a staple of the typographical output, but that of Florence suggests from the very beginning somewhat less than unmisgiving orthodoxy. Her presses were conspicuously neglectful of the patristic and exegetical texts and the service books which formed part of the cleric's professional library and which printers elsewhere showed no reluctance to undertake. The venerated Archbishop of Florence, Saint Antonine, who died in 1459, is represented by occasional editions of his manuals of confession in the vernacular, but his great *Summa theologica*, many times published in Venice and the north, is ignored at home. On the other hand, books appealing to everyman rather than to his pastors, devotional tracts, and controversial pamphlets by local authors, distinguished or obscure, make constant appearances in the book-lists, all finally centring upon the personality of Savonarola and on the reformation in little which flourished and died with him. Savonarola first appeared in Florence in 1489 and became Prior of St. Mark's only two years later. Thenceforward, up to his execution in May 1498, he was the dominant figure in the life of the city, and the stream of revivalist and polemical literature grew ever greater until it bade fair to swallow up every other kind of printed matter. The editions of the Friar's own exhortations and manifestoes cannot be put at fewer than 150, and those published by supporters or opponents add largely to this total. Tracts, sermons, and pamphlets were hurried off to press as soon as written and most were doubtless in circulation within a few days. This is, in fact, the first occasion in the history of printing when the art was pressed into the service of a propaganda campaign appealing to the public at large. And propagandist literature has surely never been presented in so beautiful a dress. The letterpress, it is true, is undistinguished—the Florentine type-faces being of no great merit as a rule—but nothing could be more admirable than the simply

executed woodcuts with their skilful use of black in both design and frame which adorn so many of these modest quartos. Like the clay figurines of ancient Tanagra, they are the products of an artistic awareness so general that even the humblest craftsman seems to partake of it almost instinctively. Yet these little books, now so much sought after, sold in their day for a few grossi and their printers did not even trouble to name themselves in the colophons.

Clerics, especially those in minor orders, played a great part in early typography all over the West, but they seem unusually numerous at Florence. One of them, Francesco Buonaccorsi, was probably a kinsman of Savonarola himself, and another, Bartolommeo de' Libri, was the most prolific printer engaged in his cause. Florence also supplies the most picturesque example of the monastic presses met with here and there both in Italy and the North, namely, that of the Convent of Dominican nuns of San Giacopo di Ripoli in the Via della Scala, which was managed by the conventual procurator and in which the nuns themselves, who were already well known for their skill in calligraphy and illumination, worked as compositors. The day-book of the press is still extant to show that it was run on strictly business lines, and secular reading is well represented among the eighty or so editions which issued from it during the eight years of its existence.

Since typography is in its very essence a means of mass-production it was logical to consider first the most important centres of the early book-trade. But the art was practised on a smaller scale and less continuously in many other Italian towns, where its history is often of considerable interest. Very nearly eighty names require to be marked on the typographical map of Italy in the fifteenth century, whereas that of Germany, including her outliers, is complete in sixty-four, and that of French-speaking territory in some forty-five. If, however, we draw a line across that map so as to pass through Rome and Subiaco, we find only eight names, just one-tenth of the total, lying to the south of it, while of these eight only one, that of Naples, can be linked with more than a mere handful of editions. The farther north we look, the more crowded becomes the map, and it is above a line drawn just south of Bologna that the names cluster thickest—in Lombardy, in Emilia, in Venetia, and in Piedmont. We are thus left in no doubt at all as to that part of the country in which the greatest economic and intellectual energy was being put forth, just as on the German map the tracts south and west of Nuremberg bear similar witness. Many of these provincial and

up-country presses were set in motion on the initiative of particular groups of students or scholars, others on that of some religious house, yet others by the local authorities, who were usually ready to extend an invitation to any craftsman recommended to them. At Perugia, indeed, it was the actual ruler of the city (though he preferred to be known only as the first citizen), Braccio de' Baglioni, who perceived as early as the year 1471 that there might be money in printed books. He associated with himself a lawyer, two merchants, and two German craftsmen, the last-named furnishing materials and labour in return for board, lodging, and a share of the profits, the lawyer acting as press reader, the merchants seeing to a regular supply of paper. On these terms the business of what might be called the state publishing house flourished for five years, producing during that time some twenty editions, mostly of large legal folios. They are, somewhat surprisingly, executed with roman type, to which, as I have already said, students of the law were as a rule allergic. But Perugia was the home of the Ubaldi, most famous of jurists, and several of the books carry an advertisement, more orotund than the modern publisher's blurb but serving the same purpose, which sets forth the merits of Baglioni as a patron of legal studies. So the lawyers were persuaded to buy and the great man's agents penetrated as far south as Naples and as far north as Padua. Very little printing was done at Perugia after this venture had been wound up, and the city could evidently maintain only one office at a time. For an example of local enterprise owing nothing to official support we may turn to the little town of Colle, so attractively stretched along its hog's back overlooking the Elsa, between Florence and Siena. Here, in July, 1478, was completed the first edition of the *Materia medica* of Dioscorides, the standard medieval text-book, in a Latin translation, plainly but beautifully printed. It was followed thirteen months later by the first edition of the medical *Practica* 'concerning all diseases from the head right down to the feet' of Giovanni Michele Savonarola, grandfather of the famous Dominican—a large folio of 324 leaves, of which no fewer than 750 copies were struck off. In between these two came the first edition of the *Halieutica* of Oppian, translated from Greek into Latin by a local scholar 'very erudite in both languages' according to the colophon; this is a long poem, or rather metrical treatise, on fish and fishing, which embodies much of the ichthyological lore of its period, the second century of our era. The only facility at Colle for these three important scientific publications was its

long-established paper-mill on the Elsa; all the rest had to be supplied by the zeal and energy of their promoters, a small band of enthusiasts of whom we know little but their names and, in some cases, their occupations. It is sad to have to record the misfortunes which brought to an end this remarkable effort. A short pamphlet of medical advice against the plague, printed with the same type as the Savonarola, gives the clue to one of them—the fierce epidemic which swept Italy in these very years, 1478 and 1479, and which was the cause of an abrupt temporary drop in the typographical output of many places, including Venice. In addition, Colle was unlucky enough to be besieged and captured by Neapolitan troops, a catastrophe which overwhelmed the printer of the Savonarola, already in difficulties through miscalculating its bulk.¹ To hazards such as these the local printing ventures, with their limited resources, were specially sensitive, and we cannot wonder that so many of them suffered premature extinction. Some, indeed, were only called into being for the discharge of one particular task. Such was the press which at Ascoli in the March of Ancona was set up by the local Franciscans in their convent, the authorities having entrusted them with the printing of the municipal Statutes; the friars completed their work in April, 1496, and the press was then closed down again. Other short-lived ventures represent the efforts of craftsmen who, for whatever reason, failed to settle down to permanent employment and depended for their livelihood on a book printed here and a book printed there; one such migrant was the Milanese Jacobinus Suigus, who printed a Breviary at San Germano in 1484, a manual for the use of priests at Vercelli in 1485, a similar work at Chivasso in 1486, and a law book at Venice in 1487, then worked for some years at Turin and ended up at Lyons in 1496.²

¹ The amount of paper specified in the original contract was ultimately increased by nearly one-fifth. This is unlikely to have been due to an increase in the size of the edition, already very large. But the printer had possibly been guilty of an understatement of his requirements in order not to cause despondency and alarm in a prospective customer—time enough to tell the *padrone* the truth when printing was fairly under way.

² The ease with which men like Suigus took the road and the rapidity with which their presses were brought into working order at their next stopping-place often seems surprising. But the ordinary man travelled light in those days, especially no doubt in the south, and a printer would rely on local carpenters and mechanics to supply him with much of what he required; his type-casting instrument, of course, and other essential outfit had to be included in his luggage. All this in no way lessens the absurdity of Charles Reade's description of Sweynheym and Pannartz printing on 'a little cart' by the roadside in *The Cloister and the Hearth* (ch. lxxiv).

A final mention is due to the individual bibliophile commissioning for the nonce a book according to his choice. We may take as an example Pantaleone da Confienza, physician to the Duke of Savoy, at whose expense was printed a Breviary at Turin in 1474, the *Lives of the Fathers* at Caselle in 1475, and a text of his own, again at Turin, in 1477. This last, the earliest-known monograph on milk foods to be put into type, was the fruit of extensive travel in the train of his ducal master; both were great connoisseurs of cheese, and Pantaleone made a point of assessing the dietetic value of the local varieties wherever he went. His descriptions may still be read with interest; he tells us, among other things, that in the market at Antwerp he saw incredible quantities of English cheeses, all of the finest quality and stamped with representations of beasts, letters, flowers, and other objects—a picturesque detail perhaps not recorded elsewhere. Pantaleone's volume, an admirable piece of plain printing with a large roman modelled upon Jenson's famous fount, bears witness to his discrimination in book-building, and as one of the first of a long line of medical men who have deserved well of the printed book his memory should be kept green.

The decade of the 1470's, during which Venice and the other major centres had not yet deployed their full resources, was the natural playground of local and occasional typography, and during those years the art found its way to quite fifty of the eighty Italian towns made acquainted with it before the century closed. How transient were many of these visits may be gathered from the fact that twenty of the fifty had already dropped out of the lists for good by the end of 1480, while in several others the press was thereafter only intermittently active. As we reckon up the modest score of this scattered output and confront it with the thousands of Venice, Milan, Rome, and Florence, we see that control of the market by big business was inevitable from the first, and we cannot but acknowledge that the boons of variety and cheapness of reading matter were thereby conferred on an ever-increasing multitude of readers. Yet the earlier, wayward children of an art only just come to maturity—the true incunabula¹—are attractive as their more exactly standardized successors rarely

¹ The Latin word 'incunabulum', anglicized as 'incunable', with its plural 'incunabula', indicates a book printed when the typographic art was still in its 'cradle' or childhood and is currently applied to any book printed before the year 1501. It is an awkward and inelegant term, for which 'fifteener' would be better substituted, but it cannot now be dislodged from the bibliographical vocabulary. See A. W. Pollard, *Fine Books* (1912), pp. 77, 78.

contrive to be. Theirs is the charm of the experimental and the idiosyncratic, and of a happy diversity of type-faces conceived in a still vital tradition of fine calligraphy. Such books as the Subiaco Lactantius of 1465 or the Foligno Dante of 1472 (to mention only these) are noble things, and if they lack the 'exhibition finish' of the finest modern printing, we must remember not only that the technique which produced them was primitive compared with that of to-day but that they were originally the very contrary of high-priced *éditions de luxe*. Their purpose was to supply the wants of the ordinary reader more quickly and cheaply than could pen and ink,¹ and so they manage to avoid that touch of the *trop voulu* which is somehow apt to haunt the technically flawless productions of our own century. Circumstances, however, were already changing when Jenson died, rich and full of honours, in the autumn of 1480,² and before the new decade closed type-faces were fast settling down, as it were, to a greatest common measure, with a short range of roman patterns for humanistic texts, another of gothics suitable for law books, and so forth, until the founts in each class end by differing so little from each other that variants can be detected only by the specialist. It becomes possible for several offices to share the printing of a long text and the average reader to be none the wiser, and one facsimile may in a modern catalogue be not inadequate to represent material used by twenty-five or thirty presses. This does not mean that such utility faces are of poor quality, or that there is any serious decline in typographical standards; in some respects the contrary is true. But it does mean that a book of a given kind is no longer

¹ The Milanese humanist Bonus Accursius, addressing Cicco Simoneta, the acting head of the State, in 1475, well puts the case for the printed book when, after praising typography as 'a thing both useful and beautiful', he remarks: 'It is not easy for everyone to acquire manuscript books because of the price and pecuniary difficulties (although by God's providence this can be no obstacle to you). But the printing art is not to be despised, both for its subtlety and because when the impression and as it were the formation of such books is correct from the beginning, it runs through all the copies always in the same order, with scarcely the possibility of error—a thing which in manuscripts is apt to result very differently' (prefatory letter to the edition of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* printed by De Lavagnia at Milan in 1475). These sentiments would have pleased St. Jerome, who so forcibly proclaimed his preference for cheap but correct texts over manuscripts merely sumptuous, 'onera magis exarata quam codices' (preface to the Book of Job in the Vulgate).

² He had been created count palatine by the Pope in 1475. There is a reference to him as 'omnium impressorum praestantissimus', written a few weeks before his death.

likely to be very different from another of the same kind, and the present account can accordingly turn at this point to a more general evaluation.

The appetite for classical literature soon recovered from its early surfeit of print at Rome and Venice. To this there can witness editions of the Latin classics to the number of some 900, and possibly more; purely scientific texts, like the *Natural History* of Pliny the Elder, are additional to this count. In the forefront of them all stands Cicero, whose prestige fluctuated during the Renaissance but who during the later 1500's had become the very god of prose composition. More than 200 Italian editions of his writings are known, and they include the first edition of his complete works, published at Milan in 1498 and 1499—no small undertaking, with its four volumes in large folio, of nearly 800 leaves altogether. The primacy of Cicero as a letter-writer was at no time in doubt, and the ability to compose an epistle as close to the Ciceronian model as possible was an accomplishment indispensable to every humanist, whose daily bread might depend upon his command of the commendatory, laudatory, gratulatory, petitory, regratiatory, or, in the last resort, vituperative letter, as the case might be (the nomenclature is that of a popular 'ready writer' of the time, the *Modus epistolandi* of the Venetian Franciscus Niger). It is thus no surprise to find on record as many as fifty-four editions of Cicero's own *Epistolae* (chiefly those *ad familiares*) and to read that one of these, published at Rome in 1490, consisted of no fewer than 800 copies. Apart from Cicero, the Roman masters of prose were less popular than the poets, at the head of whom stands Virgil, with something like seventy editions of his complete works. If many of them offend by continuing the *Aeneid* with the thirteenth book which Maffeo Vegio ('the egregious Vegius', as Saintsbury called him) had the presumption to add to Virgil's text, we cannot blame their printers, who were only giving a not-too-discriminating public what it wanted. As for the Greek writers, they enjoyed a *succès d'estime*, indeed, but most students fought shy of them when presented in their original tongue; there were, after all, a number of translations made by famous scholars, such as Laurentius Valla, which might be held to satisfy all reasonable demands. The two most important series of Greek printed texts were that of Florence, which have already been spoken of, and that published at Venice by Aldus Manutius between 1495 and 1499, and including the 'philosophy', natural and otherwise, of Aristotle and Theophrastus in five great volumes, nine comedies of Aristophanes, and the *Idylls* of Theocritus. But Aeschylus and

Sophocles were never printed at all, any more than Herodotus or Thucydides, while a collection of the speeches of Isocrates, very handsomely printed at Milan in 1493, went off so slowly that a remainder was re-issued with a fresh title-page as late as 1535. Grammars and dictionaries were numerous, and included the vast *Lexicon* of Suidas, but most of them were apparently designed for conversation with Greeks, either in Italy or in their own country, where Venetian traders and officials must have often found a knowledge of the language indispensable. Greek type-faces suffered from the lack of a good calligraphic tradition, the contemporary cursive script being entirely unsuited to reproduction in type; while one or two have never been improved upon save in detail, others are so barbarous as to be almost unreadable, and the best known, the Aldine cursive, is of very indifferent quality.¹

All in all, the humanists were well served by the printers to whom they had given so much encouragement from the beginning, and relations between them were generally cordial, in spite of a natural tendency to blame all errors on the press-men, who were not in a position to reply.² It is nevertheless remarkable that the writings of the humanists themselves make no great show in the book-lists, except in so far as they contributed commentaries to the classical texts or prefaces and dedications to particular editions of these. This may be held to foreshadow the decline in their prestige which set in during the following century, and which Burckhardt³ attributes in large part to the spread of cheap printed classics, whereby personal intercourse with the professors of such studies could be dispensed with. His judgement is not flattering to the scholarly tribe, but we know enough of the arrogance, quarrelsomeness, cupidity, and bad manners of their rank and file to make it very plausible.

It has already been said that the literature of religion did not

¹ Politian, in the edition of his *Miscellanies* (1489) referred to on p. 33, prints a long extract from Callimachus in non-cursive Greek entirely without accents, and the result is so successful as to induce a wish that the practice had established itself. See R. Proctor, *The Printing of Greek in the Fifteenth Century* (1900), p. 134.

² A notable instance occurs in a Catullus printed at Vicenza in 1481, the editor of which tells us that, having revised a previous and very incorrect edition, he sent for certain printers and instructed them to reprint it as correctly as he had undertaken to make it. He then refused to have anything further to do with the book, 'for which reason, if there are any omissions or blunders, do not ascribe them to me but to the printers'. This, to be sure, was not playing the game.

³ Op. cit., p. 163.

occupy the presses of Italy in the same proportion as those of Germany or France, but it was far from being neglected, and next after humanism can claim the largest percentage of their total output. The comparative dearth of patristic and dogmatic texts may perhaps be in part accounted for by the aesthetic prejudices of the new learning; 'most people', remarks one eminent humanist, 'consider ecclesiastical writing to resemble a strapping wench more remarkable for muscle than beauty and more robust than graceful', and he evidently shares this opinion himself.¹ On the other hand, Italy can claim all the three editions of the Hebrew Old Testament published during the period, namely, those of Soncino, 1488, of Naples, about 1492, and of Brescia, 1494, while the Venetian dominions were almost the only territory outside Germany where the Vulgate could be printed without ecclesiastical interference. Of twenty-seven recorded editions printed in Italy a mere three are non-Venetian; among them, however, is the first of all, printed by Sweynheym and Pannartz in 1471 and dedicated (of course by permission) to the puritan Pope Paul II. At Venice, too, were printed the first Bibles of a size not requiring the support of a lectern, and one of these editions consisted of no fewer than 930 copies on paper, in addition, presumably, to others on vellum. The Scriptures were translated into Italian by a Venetian priest, Niccolò Mallermi, and all the early editions of this version, eleven in number, are Venetian. That of 1490 is the first systematically illustrated Venetian book, a small oblong woodcut being prefixed to each chapter. These charming cuts make a popular appeal similar to that of the Florentine cuts serving the like purpose, but as they are lighter in treatment, so they are in what may be called a lighter vein of devotion. More orthodox reading for laymen was the translation of such parts of the Epistles and Gospels as form the lessons in the Missal, and there were many editions of this at Venice, Florence, and elsewhere; that of 1495, containing over 150 woodcuts, has been declared to mark the highest point reached by Florentine book-illustration.² It need hardly be added that legends of saints, miracle-plays (*rappre-*

¹ Philippus Beroaldus the Elder, in an epistle to the reader prefixed to the *Rexuperationes Faesulanæ* of Marcus Bossus, Bologna, 1493. He goes on to praise Bossus for having 'beautified the ecclesiastical dogma with the colours of rhetoric and given it a harmonious polish of elegancies'.

² Cuts and text of this book (*Epistole et Evangelii et Lectioni volgari*) have been reproduced, with an introduction by A. W. Pollard, for the Roxburghe Club (1910).

sentazioni) and other devotional matter for the general reader were frequently printed; the *Fioretti* of St. Francis, for example, achieved more than a dozen editions, though they were never deemed worthy of reproduction outside the country of their origin.

If the length and size of the books rather than the mere number of editions were made the statistical criterion, there is little doubt that the law would outdistance all other subjects with which the earliest Italian printers concerned themselves. The fundamental texts of both civil and canon law were long, the explanatory glosses with which they were provided were no shorter, and the commentaries written upon them by a host of jurists were interminable. But the demand for them all, even for the most prolix, was constant. This may seem at first sight surprising, but its explanation lies in the crowd of independent authorities, ecclesiastical and secular, into which sovereignty in medieval Italy was comminuted. Each of these, from the Curia downwards, had of necessity its chancery and its legal experts, and a training in canon law was almost indispensable to a cleric in high office. The need for law books was correspondingly great, and their circulation extended across the Alps,¹ where Germany was in much the same political condition; the national anarchy was the printers' opportunity. It has already been said that Venice specialized in editions of the *Corpus juris* and the *Decretals*, but the treatises of the commentators were printed everywhere, and at Bologna, famous for its school of law, legal texts apparently account for more than a quarter of the total output. The learned writers were practically without exception southerners, and we need no further testimony than that of the book-lists to be assured that in jurisprudence as in so much else Italy stood at this time in the forefront of the western nations.

Not less pre-eminent were the Italian presses in respect of scientific literature, which would make a poor show indeed without their contribution. This is especially true of medical texts. Such editions as were published of the physicians of antiquity, especially of Galen and Celsus, are virtually all Italian, and the same applies to Avicenna, Mesue, Rhasis, and the other Arabians whom contemporary medicine still regarded as its guides. In addition, there were the minor medical classics of the Italians themselves, together with a handful of monographs (among which is that on milk and its derivatives by

¹ Of copies of thirty-eight legal texts printed by Baptista de Tortis at Venice preserved in the British Museum, all but seven are shown by manuscript notes or by their binding to have been at one time in German ownership.

Pantaleone da Confienza already mentioned) which are evidence of more modern trends of thought. Outside Italy only Lyons, stimulated by contacts with the faculty of Montpellier, had anything of importance to show in print; the German offices dealt only with texts of the 'family doctor' class. Along with the study of medicine went naturally the study of the natural sciences, which were little considered in the north. The biological writings of Aristotle were four times printed at Venice in a Latin version, and Aldus's great Greek Aristotle, already mentioned, afforded an opportunity for their further study. Six more or less complete editions of the Aristotelian corpus in Latin, also printed at Venice, testify to a more comprehensive interest in his works than in Germany or France, where he appears rather as a logician than a scientist, and it is surely not without significance that the edition of his *Politics* with a commentary printed at Rome in 1492, and making up a good-sized folio of 256 leaves, should have been struck off in as many as 1,500 copies. The *Natural History* of Pliny had entirely superseded such medieval compilations as the *De proprietatibus rerum* of Bartholomew the Englishman, still unchallenged in the north; the records are instructive, inasmuch as they show Pliny printed fifteen times in the original and thrice in an Italian translation, in every case in Italy, but Bartholomew twenty-four times north of the Alps and not once south of them. It would probably be fair to say, in sum, that the only departments of secular knowledge in which the northern presses catered at all comparably with the Italian for their readers were astronomy, astrology, and scholastic philosophy and logic. And such landmarks as six editions of the *Geographia* of Strabo, two editions of the *De architectura* of Vitruvius, that of Alberti's *De re aedificatoria* (1485), commended by Politian to Lorenzo de' Medici for help in its distribution, or the famous edition, so magnificently illustrated, of the *Hypnerotomachia* of Francesco Colonna (1499), containing a theory of art in guise of an allegory—these, to name only a few, show the Italian intellect at home in regions as yet quite beyond the purview of the rest of Europe. It is a commonplace that 'in the fifteenth century, "educated Europe" is but a synonym for Italy'¹; bibliographical facts and figures help us more exactly to assess its truth.

There remain to be considered the services rendered by the early printers of Italy to the national literature. Here they were given an opportunity beyond the reach of their colleagues in

¹ M. Pattison, *Isaac Casaubon*, 2nd ed. (1892), p. 450.

other parts by the unquestioned primacy of this literature over those of the other Western vernaculars. The work of its three great masters, Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio, was alive and calling for dissemination; in France and Germany the great epics and lyrics of an older time were all but forgotten,¹ and scarcely anything of value had since been produced to take their place, while England had as yet only Chaucer. The idea of putting into print the earliest and greatest Italian classic, the *Divina Commedia*, must have occurred almost simultaneously to three different persons as early as 1471, since in the following year the three first editions appeared within a few months of each other, one at Foligno, one at Mantua, and one at Venice. All are worthy books, but that of Foligno, printed with a monumental roman, copes best with the grandeur of its contents. These three were followed before the century closed by twelve others, and the nine latest include one or other of the current commentaries of Benvenuto d'Imola and Landino. Some contain illustrations, but only those of the Florentine edition of 1481 spoken of above are valuable. Of the rest of Dante's writings the *Convito* was printed once, but the *Vita nuova* not until half-way through the next century. An average of one edition every other year of so exacting a masterpiece as the *Divina Commedia* is perhaps no bad record, and even if the Foligno edition consisted of only 200 copies, as there is some reason to suppose, this figure was no doubt greatly exceeded by its successors.² But we cannot wonder that a much wider circulation in print accrued to the *Canzoniere* and the *Trionfi* of Petrarch, of which there are counted no fewer than thirty-four editions, nine of them comprising only the *Trionfi*. The earliest, of 1470, is one of the earliest Venetian essays in vernacular printing, while that completed at Padua in 1472, which describes its contents somewhat slightly as 'rerum vulgarium fragmenta', reproduces the text of Petrarch's own manuscript, now in the Vatican,³ the same that also served for the first edition in the Aldine italic in 1501. As in the case of the *Divina Commedia*,

¹ None of the *chansons de geste* were printed until much later, the demand being satisfied by the indifferent prose romances into which their subject-matter had been abridged. Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Parzival* and *Titarel* were each produced once in an extremely unattractive form at Strasburg, but there was nothing more.

² A fresh stimulus was given to the circulation of the poem just after the end of the period, when Aldus in 1502 published it in his newly invented italic and in small format.

³ Vat. Lat. 3195 or 3196.

the latest editions included a commentary. It was natural for a generation that took such delight in elaborate allegorical pageants to call for many editions of the *Trionfi*, and from 1488 onwards these were made additionally saleable by woodcuts of the triumphs of Love, Chastity, Fame, Time, and Divinity. Petrarch's crowded visions, however, are not easily illustrated within the compass of a smallish folio page, and these pictures satisfy us as little as those provided for Dante. The other writings of the great humanist were strangely neglected, and the only comprehensive early edition of his Latin works was actually not printed in Italy at all, but at Basel in 1496. A wider typographical field was covered by Boccaccio. While the *Decameron* heads the list with eleven editions, the *Filocolo* runs it close with as many as eight, and there were twenty-two editions of eight of his other romances, if we include the *Urbano*, then still considered to be his work, so that, statistically, he overtops Petrarch as well as Dante. Apart from the three great names only one other from the earlier time makes any show, that of Cecco d'Ascoli, the ill-fated contemporary of Dante, whose epic *L'Acerba* went through at least ten editions; but its appeal was in fact scientific and not literary, like that of Brunetto Latini's *Tesoro*, which in its Italian adaptation was once printed in 1474, or Fazio degli Uberti's *Dittamondo*, also printed in the same year.

As the first half-century of the printed book drew to its close Italian literature was beginning to flower afresh. Ariosto, the greatest poet of the age, belongs, indeed, only by birth to this period, but two lesser masterpieces fall within it—Luigi Pulci's *Morgante maggiore* and Boiardo's *Orlando innamorato*. Of the former, first published in its entirety in 1482, nine editions are known, of the *Orlando*, in its several stages, four, and the extent of its popularity may be gauged from the fact that of altogether 2,000 copies of its four editions only two can actually be read to-day—all the rest have perished, thumbed to pieces by eager readers. Not but what the romances of chivalry which these two epics satirized were quite as popular; witness *Guerino il Meschino*, reputed the work of one Andrea da Barberino, of which twelve editions are known to us. Another kind of story-telling is represented by the *Novellino* of Masuccio Salernitano; copies of five editions have survived, but in this, as in the case of so much popular literature, others may well have perished completely. Devotional poetry, some of it of considerable merit, was frequently printed; such was that of Jacopone da Todi, Leonardo Giustiniani, and Antonio Cornazzano, whose *Vita della Vergine in terza*

rima passed through at least a dozen editions. Lorenzo de' Medici himself wrote poems both religious and secular, which were several times printed; an edition of his *Ballatette* includes also those of Politian and others of his circle. A complete list would include many other names, now forgotten; but enough has been said to show that by the end of the fifteenth century no new book of any quality was likely to fail of the permanency conferred by print.

WARTON LECTURE ON ENGLISH POETRY
THE THEME OF PATRIOTISM IN THE POETRY
OF THE EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

By BONAMY DOBRÉE

Read 16 February 1949

ANYBODY who has wandered at all curiously in the field of eighteenth-century poetry must at some time have been struck by the irrelevance with which the theme of patriotism so often intrudes. There are, to be sure, various brands; with George Eliot 'one is afraid to think of all that the genus "patriot" embraces'. Dr. Johnson, we know, irascibly declared patriotism to be the last refuge of a scoundrel, while Fielding, a little more explicitly, defined the patriot as a candidate for a place at Court.¹ Patriotism of that hue, the anguished cry of all Parliamentary oppositions, will not much figure in this fleeting survey; neither shall we trace the enraptured utterances greeting the union of England with Scotland, such as Lewis Theobald's stirring apostrophe:

Hail, purple Union, lovely long-expected child!

nor pursue the versifiers who chorused Nassau's glory or 'fam'd Ramillia's field'. These last eruptions too are common form, especially in war-time; and it is with sorrow rather than astonishment that we find ourselves, in a Blenheim poem, invited to

Think of ten thousand gentlemen at least,
And each man mounted on his capering beast

into the Danube being pushed in shoals. With such outpourings, or even with far better poems expressing these fugitive mass-emotions, my tentative exploration will have little to do. Rather will it be concerned with the peculiar temper, at the time marked off, of an emotion which in more permanent forms is universal; and it will try to follow through what channels, by what new apprehensions of what his country may mean to a man, the emotion took on the particular colourings that it did.²

¹ *Covent Garden Journal*, No. 4, 14 Jan. 1752.

² I am, of course, aware that in a journey of this kind anyone is likely to discover what he is looking for: and that in isolating one ingredient from a corpus of poetry he is apt to give that ingredient far more importance than, in sober judgement, it merits.

I have referred to 'the emotion' of patriotism; I should, rather, have said 'emotions', because this very complex feeling can consist of different elements, whose relative importance will vary in each of us. It may be that in its simplest form, love of country is perhaps an identification of self with, or at least an intense attachment to, the countryside you inhabit; or it may mean, in its immature and noisier form, the triumph of your own tribe, the unsupported boast of

This England never did, nor never shall,
Lie at the proud foot of a conqueror:

or again the love of people and their ways:

This land of such dear souls, this dear, dear land.

The emotion may be nourished by a sense of the past, or again by a vision of the future: for as Veturia told Coriolanus in James Thomson's last play (1749), the whole community which forms 'thy ever-sacred country'

. . . consists
Not of coeval citizens alone:
It knows no bounds; it has a retrospect
To ages past; it looks on those to come.

Patriotism can be vulgarized, sentimentalized, mocked at, or tacitly accepted: but at certain times it takes on a special flavour; and my endeavour here will be to disengage some bouquet peculiar to the sentiment in the earlier half of the eighteenth century.

It was an age in which men, after a long conflict, metaphysical as well as political and economic, were settling down, not so much to a new as to a drastically revised set of assumptions. What these were may not be altogether clear: but it would seem fairly safe to say that the men of that time neither were possessed by a sense of profound conflict, nor shared a deeply intuitive basis of thought. We need not, then, be surprised that the poetry should be rather low-powered. For in this age, which was not so much one of reason as of attempted clarity in defining the bounds of reason, poetry would seem to have been working towards feeling by way of the intellect, rather than achieving an intellectual position through an organization of the feelings. The contemporary 'use' of imagery would alone indicate this. Thus most of the verse excites our interest rather than our emotions; or if it excites our emotions they are such as take up only a part of ourselves, and do not involve the whole man. Such large generalizations are naturally to be riddled with holes;

nevertheless it seems worth investigating whether the emotions of patriotism did not at this time engender poetry involving more of the ordinary human make-up than did the usually far more poetic emotions accordant with love or religion. For the age can display only minor love poetry, and no great religious poetry, though there is much charming verse expressive of the domestic affections, and some very fine, even moving, devotional verse. But with one or two notable exceptions these betray nothing of what might be called metaphysical tension: there is no conflict, no simultaneous apprehension at different levels.

One may, it is true, set against this the attempt, in one sense characteristic of the time, to grapple with the problem of evil. But the means of approach to the problem were so hoary with age, so overloaded with the doctrines at once cumbrous and cloudy of plenitude and the chain of being, that even Pope in the splendid first epistle of the *Essay on Man* could not quite wrest it back from intellectual to intuitional realms. Here again, in the circumstances, metaphysical tension could occur but seldom: for if a hundred years back the new philosophy had put all in doubt, the new philosophy now, it seemed, made everything beautifully clear. Thus the age was in the main concerned—and this is where it made its most valuable contribution—on the one hand with the relation of man to man (the word 'social' becoming an emotive word with an enormous aura of various significances); and on the other with its adjustment to the scientific ideas which the seventeenth century, concluding with Newton and Locke, had made an imperative, and in its way exciting, poetic adventure.¹ But even in so far as the social theme could be generously impulsive, or the scientific bring about a renascence of wonder which grew almost ecstatic, these matters were not primitive enough, dare we say, to appease the poetic hunger of a reader who looked for his whole being to be stirred, or to sustain a poet wishing to employ his reason simultaneously with his passion in intuitive speech and imagery. Both, we may be tempted to think, were searching for something more fulfilling; and once more we ask, did they hope to find it in patriotism? Some may doubt whether patriotism really is a theme which can wholly satisfy poet or reader, for great patriotic poems are rare in our language: yet there are few great poets who have left unwritten some memorable lines about their country, if only in

¹ One can think of a number of poems, from Blackmore's *Creation* to Brooke's *Universal Beauty*, and of those numberless passages where Newton's *Opticks* demanded the muse.

sorrowful dispraise. However that may be, it would seem that in the age of which we are speaking, patriotism was either seeking utterance, or being used to pad out performances felt to be jejune.

Why otherwise should it crop up in such unexpected, such queer places, in, for instance, *Solomon*, Prior's gloss on Ecclesiastes (1718)? What in heaven's name, we ask, is Solomon about in having a vision of Britannia? Or what on earth should induce Laelius, near Carthage, some 200 years before Christ, to prophesy over Sophonisba's corpse that in farthest Britain patriots will arise? An unlikely thought! but not for Thomson, or his audience, in 1730. Why again should Dr. Watts, in 1719, begin his translation of Psalm lxxvii with

Shine, mighty God! on Britain shine,

or entitle the second part of Psalm cxlvii 'A Song for Great Britain', and suppose the Hebrew poet to have sung

O Britain! Praise thy mighty God . . . ?

And why is it that in nearly every descriptive poem the appeal to patriotism, in one form or another obtrudes? It is true that Prior (who had a saving sense of humour) found it expedient to remark in prefacing *Solomon*:

I need make no apology for the short digressive *Panegyric* upon Great Britain, in the First Book; I am glad to have it observed, that there appears through all my Verses a Zeal for the Honor of my Country; and I had rather be thought a good *English-man* than the best Poet, or greatest Scholar that ever wrote:

though we might maliciously comment that patriotism is, after all, not unduly marked in most of Prior's poetry, and that a man who has barely escaped trial for high treason may well make such a flourish. Yet whatever we may think prompted the insertion of the panegyric, there is a curious poetic tension about it which assures us of the reality of the emotion. And is it not worth noticing that within our dates were written the two songs which, insensibly—there's the significance—became our national anthems?

There seems then to have been a definite need for the expression of the emotion, and we find the theme making its way into poems by a variety of doors, marked indifferently Liberty, Trade, Historic Sense or Vision of the Future, Peace, Public Works, Justice, or Pride in Literary Achievement. But it is to be noted as distinctive of all the patriotic statements made at

this time, that some reason must be given for love of one's native land. We are a mighty long way from 'My country, right or wrong': some way too, though not so long in time, from Cowper's

England, for all thy faults I love thee still,

since there are virtues even higher than patriotism. Gilbert West, for example, in one of the most popular anthologies of the day, containing a high proportion of patriotic verse, Dodsley's *Miscellany* of 1744, addresses Lord Cornbury:

'Tis not enough to scorn a private claim,
And to your country's good direct your aim.
Wrong still is wrong, however great the end,
Though all the realm were brother, father, friend.
Justice regards not these—where right prevails,
A nation is an atom in the scales. . . .

A very minor poet? But it is from the minor poets that we often get the clearest view of common feeling. The notion, indeed, is constant. Solomon's Britannia is to be

For Justice and for Mercy sought and known:

Tickell in his poem *On the Prospect of Peace*¹ (1712) tells us that

Her guiltless glory just Britannia draws
From pure religion and impartial laws . . .

and after briefly comparing Britannia's serene stance amid the waves to that of Venus when threatening billows arose, he goes on:

Her labours are to plead th' Almighty's cause,
Her pride to teach th' untam'd barbarian laws.
Who conquers wins by brutal strength the prize,
But 'tis a godlike work to civilise . . .

and we remember that the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel had been founded in 1701. But missionary zeal, it must be confessed, soon gives way to more material objectives.

But let us glance at some of the doorways indicated, to try to assess their importance. We can pretty summarily dismiss the patriotic feeling based on the assumption that England had inherited the mantle of Rome. Though it is the one Thomson appealed to in *Sophonisba*, it had been mocked as early as Marvell's *Tom May's Death* in the previous century, and Walpole had the measure of its sincerity: according to Chesterfield he would ask a political neophyte, 'Well; are you to be an old Roman? a patriot?' It seems to have been a purely literary

¹ *To the Lord Privy Seal.*

emotion, and though not negligible as such, counted for little in comparison with more plausible feelings. Nor would it appear that a veneration for the country's distant past was a very active principle. There were, of course, the serious historians such as Eachard getting to work, and the antiquaries such as that great scholar Wanley, who to the exceeding comfort of our schools of English discovered the manuscript of *Beowulf*. But the past, though no longer perhaps looked upon as barbarous, was still regarded with faint amusement. It is true that in many of the poems, especially the 'place' and nature poems—in Philips's *Cyder*, in Pope's *Windsor Forest*, in Thomson's *Summer* and many others—various national heroes are invoked in sketchy 'retrospects of ages past': yet it is extraordinary with what regular monotony we come across the same names, those, for instance, of Edward the Confessor and the Black Prince, as though to mention them were to assure solidity and respectability to a poem, according to a law formulated by Denham in *Cooper's Hill*.¹

Yet the recurrence of the motif, however scantily treated, would argue that a sense of the past was beginning in the ordinary mind to merge with the more acute awareness of the late unhappy troubles. How far the historical sense is stimulated by patriotism, or whether the normal process is for patriotism to be nourished by history, it would be hard to say: but in one instance at least 'the Love and Honour of one's Country' is declared to be the spring of research into the past. Elizabeth Elstob, as she tells us in the Preface to her *Rudiments of Grammar for the English-Saxon Tongue* (1715), led by her zeal 'into a Stile not so agreeable to the Mildness of [her] Sex', championed the beauties of Anglo-Saxon since

The Justness and Propriety of the Language of any Nation, hath always been rightly esteem'd a great Ornament and Test of the good Sense of such a Nation. . . .

She was not a poetess; but her apology gives a clue as to why historical passages occur so often, and sometimes incongruously;

¹ We rarely find a strong nostalgic sense of tradition, as is conveyed in that one startlingly moving stanza in Prior's *Carmen Seculare*:

Janus, mighty Deity,
Be kind; and as Thy searching Eye
Does our Modern Story trace,
Finding some of Stuart's race
Unhappy, pass their Annals by . . .

but that was recent history, a touch of sombre colour woven into a poem in praise of William III as a delicate tribute to his dead queen.

the past must be made to reveal its admirable qualities that the present may rest securely upon it.

And if we look rather more closely at the heroes celebrated, at least down to those times where being Whig or Tory might dictate a choice, we note that they are mainly associated with liberty; in the first instance from foreign oppression, and then from tyranny at home, in short, those who 'The Gaul subdued, or property secur'd'.¹ This patriotic poetry cannot all be dismissed as mere 'Whig panegyric'; the themes are too constant and too various; moreover the melodies warbled by the Whigs are fervently carolled by the most arrant Tories. We tend, I think, to underestimate the sense our Augustan forebears had of liberty as a precious possession lately threatened; we are apt to regard the word as a counter, forgetting how close the age felt itself to be to its tyrannic past, how lately the bitter struggle had been fought, how sharply the men of that age realized the price of liberty to be eternal vigilance. It was not as mere party palaver, it was through real emotion, with a feeling of what was involved, that both political factions in the audience during the year of crisis that *Cato* was performed (1713), vociferously applauded the lines:

A day, an hour, of virtuous liberty
Is worth a whole eternity in bondage. (ii. 1.)

Naturally, like any other theme, this one can become a cliché, in political life as in poetry, and it did so as the years wore on. Cooke's edition of Glover tells us of *Leonidas*, first published in 1737, that its brief success

has been imputed not solely to its intrinsic merits, but in part to a zeal, or, as some persons term it, a rage for liberty, which at that time prevailed in England—

especially, we might be tempted to add, among those who had not yet got places at Court. *Leonidas* indeed laid him down

in honourable rest
To seal his country's liberty by death;

but the poem is not excessively patriotic, nor noticeably didactic of liberty. Yet Lyttelton found it in him to write in *Common Sense* (No. 10):

Never yet was an epic poem wrote with so noble and so useful a design;

¹ Captain Lemuel Gulliver, when at Glubbdubdrib, 'chiefly fed [his] Eyes with beholding the Destroyers of Tyrants and Usurpers, and the Restorers of Liberty to oppressed and injured Nations'.

the whole plan and purpose of it being to show the superiority of freedom over slavery.

Freedom! As everybody knew, Freedom had since classical days found her home in Britain: such at least is the theme of Thomson's poem *Liberty* (1735-6), that very remarkable attempt at a brief history of civilization.¹ Goethe, to be sure, judged it to be a very bad poem, feeling that in it Thomson had given himself up to party and so was lost as a poet—and indeed the worst streaks are those where Thomson deals out lengths of anti-Walpole 'corruption' fustian. Yet one knows that Thomson's passion for liberty is real. The poem concludes with a vision of what the land of freedom might be, but earlier the goddess Liberty, after pointing to the ruin of Italy consequent upon the loss of freedom, had continued:

Hence, Britain, learn; my best-establish'd, last,
And more than Greece, or Rome, my steady reign;
The land where, King and people equal bound
By guardian laws, my fullest blessings flow;
And where my jealous unsubmitting soul,
The dread of tyrants! burns in every breast. (i. 316-21.)

What were the 'fullest blessings' which flowed we shall glance at later, merely preluding here that in the main they were peace, commerce, civic virtue, and public works. It is in those strains that Britain will be most loudly hymned: but before passing to them we might touch upon other notes, not to be left altogether out of account. One of these is perhaps incidental, but none the less revealing, namely praise of England as the land where civil strife is quieted. It is sounded now and again, as in Elijah Fenton's regular Pindaric Ode in glorification of Marlborough (1707), a poem somewhat oddly entitled *Ode to the Sun*:

Iö, Britannia! [he hails her] fix'd on foreign wars,
Guiltless of civil rage extend thy name . . .

but he does not develop the theme. It may serve us here as introductory to a more important one, namely pride in Britain as the refuge for the oppressed. Again I will take the instance from a very minor poet, this time Samuel Croxall, who in *The Vision* (1715) sings it very clearly:

*Britain from Rome while Alpine Rocks divide,
And Neptune rolls between his foamy Tide,
May Paul's Cathedral rear its gilded Head,
And o'er the City stretch a specious Shade;*

¹ As Professor W. L. Renwick has pointed out.

From foreign Climes see injur'd People come,
 Invoking Aid beneath its ample Dome;
 And Hospitably form a safe Retreat
 From the fierce Flames of persecuting Heat.
 May fair *Britannia's* Adamantine Shield
 To suppliant States a kind Protection yield;
 While brandishing aloft her Ebon Spear
 She strikes the tyrant Breast with Thrilling Fear . . .

a generous emotion which was to flower into the best tradition of English liberalism. Thomson was to take it up and enlarge it, inviting us to see

Gay Colonies extend; the calm retreat
 Of undeserv'd distress, the better home
 Of those whom bigots chase from foreign lands . . .
 (*Liberty*, v. 639-42.)

the humane idea which had in the first instance largely peopled North America.

Such notions are corollaries of the idea of freedom; but all rest upon one fundamental instinct, the passionate love of what freedom will permit a man to enjoy, namely the countryside itself, in all its strange loveliness and all its familiarity. The sentiment is pervasive, expressed in the warmth of detailed description rather than in the set phrase, as in that charming, underrated poem of John Philips, *Cyder* (1708), a country poem which stands out in this period so unduly given to descriptions of nature. Here, for instance, cheered with the nectareous juice of the red-streak apple, he is praising the glories of Herefordshire, or Ariconium as he prefers to call it. I break in half-way through the paean:

Here, to the Sight,
 Apples of Price and Plenteous Sheaves of Corn,
 Oft interlac'd occur, and both imbibe
 Fitting congenial Juice; so rich the Soil,
 So much does fructuous Moisture o'er abound!
 Nor are the Hills unamiable, whose Tops
 To Heaven aspire, affording Prospect sweet
 To Human Ken; nor at their Feet the Vales
 Descending gently, where the lowing Herd
 Chew verd'rous Pasture; nor the yellow Fields
 Gaily enterchanged, with rich Variety
 Pleasing: as when an *Emerald* green, enchas'd
 In Flamy Gold, from the bright Mass acquires
 A nobler Hue, more delicate to Sight.

You may or may not think that good poetry; but you cannot deny the honesty of the emotion. This sentiment is diffused throughout Thomson's work also; and since *The Seasons* are not avowedly patriotic poetry, an excerpt from 'Summer' may be more convincing than one drawn from other sources. Here, addressing 'happy Britannia', Thomson declaims:

Rich is thy soil, and merciful thy clime;
 Thy streams unfailing in the summer's drought;
 Unmatch'd thy guardian-oaks; thy valleys float
 With golden waves: and on thy mountains flocks
 Bleat numberless; while, roving round their sides,
 Bellow the blackening herds in lusty droves.
 Beneath, thy meadows glow, and rise unquell'd
 Against the mower's scythe. . . .

(1445-52, final edition.)

That is not simply a deeply appreciative, perhaps idealized picture of any country anywhere, as Goethe thought a nature poem should be and that this one was, but of Britain, the Britain which in the opening passages of *Liberty* is so favourably compared for its physical beauty with any other land.

But description by itself is not enough to make a great poem, even to convey love of what is described. Moreover you cannot really paint in words; it is no use to invoke fine names and try to convert to poetry

Whate'er *Lorrain* light-touch'd with softening hue,
 Or savage *Rosa* dash'd, or learned *Poussin* drew

(*Castle of Indolence*, I. xxxviii.)

because scenery, to be significant, must refer to something outside itself. For, nourishing what may seem to be the simplest delight of physical enjoyment, even making the delight possible, there is a whole complex of emotions, some extremely primitive, appealed to in a way we need not be at all aware of. The Augustans knew that descriptive poetry pure and simple, 'in itself . . . never esteemed a high order of that art' (as Byron insisted with Bowles), becomes as cloying and empty as photographic painting. Pope, in the words of Joseph Warton, in whose brother's memory I have the honour to address you, 'was of opinion that descriptive poetry is a composition as absurd as a feast made up of sauces'. The poets felt that what description stirred in the reader had to be satisfied by something other than description; and what more natural in an age when nearly all of them stooped to moralize their song, than to call

upon moral sentimentousness to provide the pabulum? So John Dyer, painter, extracts from the extended view at Grongar the truism that

A little Rule, a little Sway,
A sun-beam in a Winter's Day
Is all the Proud and Mighty have,
Between the Cradle and the Grave.

So Diaper, in his *Dryades*, thrilled, in common with most of the poets of his day, by the recent microscopic discoveries, after telling us that

The azure Dye, which Plums in Autumn boast,
That handled fades, and at a Touch is lost,
(Of fairest Show) is all a living Heap;
And round their little World the lovely Monsters creep . . .

forces in the moral, a little comically:

Who would on Colour dote, or pleasing Forms,
If Beauty, when discover'd, is but Worms?

Even Philips, in *Cyder*, cannot forbear ascribing the clammy end of wasps in treacle traps to a doom that

Waits Luxury, and lawless Love of Gain!

And Philips, as we have seen, does delight in all he describes, exhibiting a local patriotism that is very amiable. 'My native soil invites me', he declares before launching on his celebration of Herefordshire cider as the best of all liquors. But the poem needed stiffening, and trite morals were not enough. So, and here we come back to our theme, by a rather too swift transition he sweeps us into a historical passage where among others figure Edgar, Edward III, Richmond Henry, Charles I, to whom cider-land remained loyal, and finally 'mighty Anne'. It is a little confused, and confusing, but the gist of it—and here we listen again to a lesser tune already noted—is that though

Too oft alas! has mutual Hatred drench'd
Our Swords in Native Blood . . .

civil discord has ceased, so now

The elder Year, Pomona, pleas'd, shall deck
With ruby-tinctur'd Births, whose liquid Store
Abundant, flowing in well blended Streams,
The Natives shall applaud; while glad the talk
Of baleful Ills, caus'd by Bellona's Wrath
In other realms . . .

for in 1708 the Peace of Utrecht was not yet in sight, a prospect which was to turn Diaper's *Dryades* as it did Pope's *Windsor Forest* into a poem applauding the treaty, and those who had brought it about.

Cyder, of course, could claim validity as a practical poem, a *Georgic* you could use as a handbook; it did not really need the other props. Thomson, however, had no such apology for his *Seasons*, and he sought substance, not only in moralizing, but in scientific explanations, in touching tales, and in expressing wonder at the revelation of the way creative divinity works. Yet all the time he verges on patriotic utterance, swelling into full cry as it were in the passage in 'Summer', in which he pays homage to the historic great. It is an interesting inset; for though he gives generous dues to the warrior 'sons of glory', from Alfred onwards to such men as Drake, and celebrates, as one would expect, the champions of liberty, Hampden, Russell, and Algernon Sidney, enrolling the law-givers to support them, he hurries on to expatiate upon the philosophers, Bacon, Shaftesbury 'the friend of man', Newton '*pure Intelligence*, whom God to mortals lent', Locke 'Who made the whole internal world his own', to draw to a full close with the poets—Chaucer, Shakespeare, Spenser, Milton. We find indeed that praise of the poets is by no means absent in the patriotic verse of this time; and after all, if we look at 'Rule Britannia' (1740) with more attention than we usually do, we notice that Britain is happy, not through brutal conquest, but because

The Muses, still with freedom found,
Shall to thy happy coast repair:

though that thought, it is true, occurs only in the last stanza, where we may guess we are hearing Thomson rather than Mallet.

But it is in the stanza before that we meet the great theme that calls forth the deepest notes from the poets of the period:

To thee belongs the rural reign;
Thy cities shall with commerce shine:
All thine shall be the subject main,
And every shore it circles thine.

None of the other themes, the splendour of liberty, the glory of bygone days, the triumph of arms or arts, nor the enthronement of justice, can compare in volume, in depth, in vigour of expression, in width of imagination, with the full diapason of commerce. Other of the themes were present in Dryden, or even in

Drayton, but this theme attains an apparently sudden strength in Prior's *Carmen Seculare*:

Through various Climes, and to each distant Pole
In happy Tides, let active Commerce rowl:
Let Britain's Ships export an Annual Fleece,
Richer than Argos brought to Ancient Greece;
Returning loaden with the shining Stores,
Which lye profuse on either India's Shores. (St. xxxvi.)

and if it thus begins with wool in 1700, for us at least it ends with wool in 1757 with Dyer's *Fleece*. Worthy of a nation of shopkeepers? Perhaps: but we have to feel wool as a symbol of the tremendous energy of an age of mercantile expansion, with everywhere a bursting sense of something doing, of being alive in a terrifically exciting world of practical affairs. Alas, there were flaws from the point of view of generations that have seen what the process may lead to. If Dyer in his youth sang with a *naïf* charm of the glories of the countryside, in 1757, far from hymning these, he is tuning his voice to the urbanization of England:

Thus all is here in motion, all is life . . .
. . . th' echoing hills repeat
The strokes of ax and hammer. . . .
. . . Some, with even line,
New streets are marking in the neighb'ring fields,
And sacred domes of worship. Industry,
Which dignifies the artist, lifts the swain,
And the straw cottage to a palace turns,
Over the work presides. Such was the scene
Of hurrying Carthage, when the Trojan chief
First view'd her growing turrets. So appear
Th' increasing walls of busy Manchester,
Sheffield and Birmingham, whose redd'ning fields
Rise and enlarge their suburbs. (*The Fleece*, iii. 321-40.)

That is a Macaulayesque vision, which Thomson shared, to judge from *Liberty* where he applauds the busy scene of human labour (especially v). But there were dangers in commerce, as Aaron Hill reminded Thomson in a letter of 17 February 1735: 'Think seriously . . .', he warns him, 'and try, if, in all your intimate acquaintance with past ages, you can find a people long, at once, retaining *public virtue* and *extended commerce*.' An uneasiness born of this thought may account for the stress we find again and again on public virtue, and on public works—for these last are an example of the arts—as for instance, to

avoid a tedious sheaf of examples, in Thomson *passim* or Richard Savage's none too brief poem *Of Publick Works* (1737).

But there is a less brittle glory in this theme of commerce, since from it emerged a vision of the future, of tranquillity, of plenty, and of universal brotherhood; it supplied a vision of a golden age ahead at least as emotive, if not quite so simple, as the myth of the Golden Age in the past had ever been. It is an amazing picture of an idealized British Empire, a picture not immediately achieved, but groped for. With some, it is true, commerce remained commerce, as it did with Edward Young, to judge from his *Instalment* (1726):

If peace still smiles, by this shall commerce steer
A finish'd course, in triumph round the sphere;
And, gathering tribute from each distant shore,
In Britain's lap the world's abundance pour.

With others it was bound up with what we should call the romance of seafaring, and, in this period, referred to the glories it may bring the peaceful Crown. Here, for instance, is Tickell once more, revelling in the prospect of peace:

Fearless our merchant now pursues his gain,
And roams securely o'er the boundless main.
Now o'er his head the polar bear he spies,
And freezing spangles of the Lapland skies;
Now swells his canvas to the sultry line,
With glitt'ring spoils where Indian grottoes shine,
Where fumes of incense glad the southern seas,
And wafted citron scents the balmy breeze. . . .

Those lines surely have a certain fervour, nor is the singing note altogether absent, though so far there seems little object in trade beyond the pleasure of ocean travel: but then the point comes:

Here nearer suns prepare the rip'ning gem
To grace great Anne's imperial diadem . . .

the imperial diadem not being worn for glory alone: as Fenton remarked in his *Verses to the Queen on her Birthday*, she is the bringer of peace; she longs 'to give the lab'ring world repose', so that

Commerce beneath the southern stars shall thrive,
Intestine feuds expire, and arts revive;
Safe in their shades the Muses shall remain,
And sing the milder glories of your reign.

For trade, as the poets insist, is the great civilizing agent. So at least Glover in his *London: or the Progress of Commerce* (1739):

Thou gracious commerce, from his cheerless caves
In horrid rocks and solitary woods,
The helpless wand'rer man, forlorn and wild,
Did'st charm to sweet society

But it is once again Dyer who is most fervid, most anxious that Britain's greatness shall be founded on virtue:

. . . Wide o'er

The globe terraqueous, let Britannia pour
The fruits of plenty from her copious horn.
What can avail to her, whose fertile earth
By ocean's briny waves are circumscrib'd,
The armed host, and murd'ring sword of war,
And conquest o'er her neighbours? She ne'er breaks
Her solemn compacts, in the lust of rule:
Studious of arts and trade, she ne'er disturbs
The holy peace of states. 'Tis her delight
To fold the world with harmony . . .

(*The Fleece*, iv. 655-65.)

and he goes on to prophesy that if luxury does not enervate the British, they may gloriously augment their export of textiles, and clothe the naked not only in California, but even in Japan.

It must be confessed that much of this does not ring quite true; it all smacks too much of mercantilism, too much of the colonial expansion policy favoured by Chatham; we feel that many of the pious vaunts are, if not deliberate self-deception, at least what we should call wishful thinking. But by then the great vision of an integrated, peaceful Britain had already become a little tarnished by events; Swift had ruthlessly exposed the grimmer side of Colonial conquest, and we feel that Dyer and Glover and the others are fighting against a dulling disillusion. To recapture the early glamour we must swing back to the end of Queen Anne's reign, and to the greatest poet of the age, to meet really humane patriotism in that great vision of Empire expressed in the closing strains of *Windsor Forest*, in which Pope builds up our emotion through his complex succession of images, and the sheer magic and music of his phrasing. The whole passage of some seventy lines, where Thames speaks, is too long to quote here; but there is time perhaps for the lines conjuring up a vision of universal peace, an idea that may have

been more than usually in mind since William Penn had drafted his scheme for a League of Nations:

The time shall come, when free as seas or wind
 Unbounded *Thames* shall flow for all mankind,
 Whole nations enter with each swelling tyde,
 And Seas but join the regions they divide;
 Earth's distant ends our glory shall behold,
 And the new world launch forth to seek the old.
 Then ships of uncouth form shall stem the tyde,
 And feather'd people crowd my wealthy side,
 Whose naked youth and painted chiefs admire
 Our speech, our colour, and our strange attire!
 Oh stretch thy reign, fair Peace! from shore to shore,
 Till conquest cease, and slav'ry be no more;
 Till the freed *Indians* in their native groves
 Reap their own fruits, and wooe their sable Loves,
Peru once more a race of Kings behold,
 And other *Mexico's* be roof'd with gold. . . . (Ed. 1717.)

A political poem, you may say, written by a young poet to ingratiate himself with the powers that then, for a short time, were. But part of what a poet says is the way he says it, and here there is something far more profoundly diffused than mere pious aspiration and political astuteness: and we may note in passing that Pope in common with Savage deplored the *asiento* clause in the Treaty of Utrecht. At all events, the vision is a noble one, shared by many of those able to dream of things to come: and it is that which I, perhaps too gullibly, would like to think of as the distinctive note of the patriotism of the age we have been glancing at.

I do not know whether this brief excursion has thrown any light on a small facet of early-eighteenth-century poetry; but I hope it may contribute in a minute degree to breaking down still further the crumbling barrier which the ill-chosen epithet 'artificial' so long interposed between the living reader and that body of verse. I hope that it has made the men of those days seem in essentials more like us in their beliefs, their desires, and their fears, for I am not at ease with that modern fashion of scholarship which labours to make the men and women of the past as unlike ourselves as possible, and as inaccessible as may be to our understanding.

For though many of the assumptions by which men lived in those days—their illusions if you prefer the Laforguian phrase—

differ from ours, the people of our Augustan times were concerned about much the same human tangles as we are, and in not widely dissimilar ways. They had, perhaps, a stronger sense of society than was apparent in the Romantic and Individualistic periods from which we have emerged, to feel once more, if in a new way, the necessity for a consciously integrated yet diverse society. And it is arguable that the social sense is partly made up of patriotism, not the noisy, often Palmerstonian patriotism of the nineteenth century—the poets, one may remark, from Tennyson to Kipling were chastisers rather than glorifiers of public emotionalism—but the patriotism jealous of the fair fame of the nation that is being sung. And I must confess that what moves me in the poetry I have been touching upon is the attempt so hopefully made to equate the nation with the moral virtues; that, and the dream of the future, of a future which still lies unreached, and which they saw in all the alluring colours of a vision that is newly born, and does not look unattainably far away.

ANNUAL PHILOSOPHICAL LECTURE

HENRIETTE HERTZ TRUST

PRESUPPOSITIONS AND FINITE TRUTHS

By DOROTHY EMMET

Read 16 March 1949

THIS lecture might have an alternative title, 'Some reflections arising on a rereading of F. H. Bradley in 1949'. To reread him is to ask whether the time may not be ripe for the reassessment of certain elements in his theory of knowledge. The language of Absolute Idealism is not a congenial language to many to-day; few of us will find ourselves arguing that Reality is a Single Experience, or that the Absolute enjoys a preponderance of pleasure over pain. But we do not do well if we let differences of language and metaphysics prevent us from learning from one of the greatest masters of the theory of knowledge that this country has ever had. I want to suggest that some of the things which Bradley was saying, put perhaps into a different setting, may help us in questions which are still important. In this lecture I shall be concerned with one such group of questions: those which have to do with the bearing of presuppositions and general interpretative ideas on statements of finite truth.

This may sound like a philosopher's peculiar problem; and it is that. But I believe that it bears on the general question of how far we can sharply distinguish between statements established within a special kind of inquiry and the wider background of the outlook and convictions of the person who makes them, and how far, if at all, the latter may be said to make no difference to the former. This is a question on which any of us concerned with, for instance, the proper defence and possible limits of specialization in university education must perforce work out our own theory of knowledge, and it is a question on which I believe clear thinking is urgently needed. If others can be encouraged to go farther into this than I can, I shall not feel that I have wasted your time in asking you to consider the bearing of general presuppositions and assumptions in the background of our thinking on statements of finite truth.

'Finite truth' is Bradley's term; and it suggests the limitation of a statement by its context, and also suggests that the context depends on some wider background. By a finite truth I shall

understand a statement belonging to some determinate type, and established by the principles of logic or evidence which are taken as appropriate to statements of that type. Statements of empirical fact would be one important class of finite truths; so also might ethical or aesthetic statements. Most philosophers nowadays would, I think, agree that it is necessary to distinguish between different sorts of statement: there is less agreement on how far the different types can finally be kept sharply separate; and still less on how far statements within any type may be affected by the assumptions which make it possible to distinguish that type, or by considerations arising out of some general character in our thinking and experience. Bradley, I believe, saw farther than most philosophers into this problem. My first interest in this lecture is in the problem of finite truths, and not in the exegesis of Bradley. But I shall continually have recourse to Bradley's views, by agreement or dissent, and if I refer to them in language which is my own rather than his, I hope I shall not be doing an injustice to the substance of what he had to say.

Bradley contended that every statement was made within a context, subject to certain conditions; that within those conditions it could be valid for the working purposes of an abstraction of that kind, and in that respect might even not be corrigible. But he also continually insisted that it is not sufficient simply to assign statements to their respective types and to define the conditions under which they are made—as we might say, to determine their particular language. That must be done: but there is always the question whether 'in the end' (that continually reiterated Bradleian phrase) statements of one type may not subtly modify statements of another, and whether there is not some modification they may all undergo when they are set in the context of some kind of total background in our thinking. (This last is a vague phrase, but I shall try to say more about it later.)

Bradley, as is well known, contended that 'in the end' these modifications will take place. All statements are made subject to certain conditions defining the use of concepts for a certain kind of inquiry. But these distinctions and conditions are in a way provisional. So long as further questions about them are not raised, a statement may stand as valid for practical purposes and may even not be further corrigible for the theoretical purposes of that special kind of inquiry. But this is because 'The background is ignored because it is assumed to make no difference, and the mass of conditions, abstracted from and left out,

is treated as immaterial'.¹ We must therefore ask what modification the statement might undergo if it were explicitly related to some or all of these excluded conditions. Here it will be necessary to say a word—though I hope not many words—about the doctrine of Internal Relations. I think what Bradley meant by the doctrine of Internal Relations can be taken in two ways, the one being a dominant but unsatisfactory view, the other being a recessive but potentially more interesting view. According to the dominant view, Bradley was saying that every statement is in a close system of mutual implications with every other statement and the system is such that the meaning of any statement within it could only be finally determined by knowing the difference it would make to all other statements, and they to it, the truth of a statement being defined in these terms. Since the development of such a total system of mutually supporting statements is impossible for a mind like ours, we have to say that every finite truth we can formulate is incomplete and so not quite true. But interpreted in this way, the doctrine of Internal Relations is hardly a live issue at the present time. It is doubtful whether we can maintain that finite statements of empirical fact can form a mutual implicatory system with other statements of fact; and still more doubtful whether they can form a single implicatory system with finite statements of other types, such as ethical, aesthetic, and mathematical. Blanshard in his *The Nature of Thought* has made a brave attempt to defend the Coherence Theory of Truth along these lines; but I do not think that he makes out the case that the relation between one type of statement and another can be a coherence relation within a single system. There is, however, another interpretation of the doctrine of Internal Relations, which seems to me by far the more valuable and relevant, according to which Bradley is contending that even though a statement may be valid within certain limited conditions, its further meaning and interpretation will be affected when questions are raised about the self-sufficiency of the frame of reference within which it is made. If the former interpretation of the doctrine of Internal Relations has sometimes been symbolized by the quotation about the 'Flower in the crannied wall' taking 'Only the whole truth is wholly true' to mean that to know the truth about anything we should need to know everything about everything, the latter interpretation might be symbolized by the quotation about the 'Primrose by a river's brim', which 'A yellow primrose was to him, and it

¹ *Appearance and Reality*, p. 540 (second edition).

was nothing more'. If it were possible only to think of the primrose as a yellow primrose, or as *Primula vulgaris*, or as a logical construction out of sense data, or (with Wordsworth) as a metaphysical symbol, and to keep these types of description rigidly apart, the problems of philosophy would be lightened. But Bradley's contention is that they cannot be kept rigidly apart; that in the end, if not thoughts too deep for tears, at any rate thoughts which may cost logicians tears raise themselves about the relation between the one sort of statement and the others, and the bearing on all of them of some kind of total background in our thought and experience.

The problem of finite truths may therefore be said to have three aspects:

1. The possibility that any statement of a particular type may always be corrigible by other (though not necessarily *all* other) statements of the same kind, for instance, empirical statements by empirical, ethical by ethical, and so on.

2. The question whether statements of one kind may be affected by statements of another, for instance, questions of fact by questions of value.

3. The modification that the meaning of a statement may undergo when the presuppositions subject to which it is made are criticized, or when an attempt is made to relate the statement to wider interpretative categories.

Let us take some statements of fact and consider whether there are cases in which these might be said to be established, and if so, whether this would be granted on strictly empirical considerations. I think it is fairly generally agreed that if we take empirical statements of fact, we cannot whittle them down to atomic statements not affected in any way by interpretative judgement, memory, and prediction. A report of the data of immediate sensation and no more would give much less than is necessary for a statement of fact. Bradley comes near to saying that any such statement is an hypothesis awaiting verification, since he says that we should be able to say what, if it is true, it enables us to contradict. 'In your search for independent facts and for infallible truths you may go so low that when you have descended below the level of error, you find yourself below the level of any fact or of any truth which you can use. . . . I think that in every case we shall do well to ask this question, "What on the strength of our ultimate fact are we able to contradict?"'¹ Nevertheless, there do seem to be statements of empirical fact which we can

¹ *Essays in Truths and Reality*, pp. 204-5.

say are established as 'hard data', meaning we are prepared to say that no evidence in the future could be stronger than the evidence we already have. Let us consider this, taking an example. Mr. and Mrs. Brown, Tommy, Mary, Judy, and Bobby are going on holiday. They get to the garden gate. Mr. Brown wonders whether he really locked the back door, and goes back and looks. Yes, it seems so. He says to his wife: 'You go back and look too, to make sure.' His wife says, yes. 'Tommy, you go back and look, I don't trust your mother.' And Tommy says, yes. 'Mary, you go and try it, and give it a good hard shake.' And now what about Judy and Bobby? Bobby is not quite sure if it is locked or not. Finally, Mr. Brown says, 'I think I must go and have another look myself: I can't rely on any of you.' And so on, and so on. Does there not come a point where to ask for further evidence is a sign not of rationality but of pathological and neurotic compulsion? And even if little Bobby said he was not sure if the door was locked, and then everyone went and looked again and thought it was, how far would little Bobby's doubts be allowed to shake the general conviction that to ask for further evidence would be irrational? So we may say that a statement of a certain type made at a certain level may be established when it would not be reasonable to ask for further evidence. This raises the question whether repeated observations always serve to strengthen and confirm conviction of what is observed. Up to a point, they may do so; but there comes a point, I believe, where a sort of law of diminishing returns sets in, and each further observation simply serves to make us more doubtful of whether we can trust our former observations. This is of course to bring in extra-logical, psychological grounds for conviction. But when we are considering the degree of assurance we can give to sensory observations, since observation has psychological conditions I do not think these considerations can be left out of account. (This would apply also to observations in which we take pointer readings on instruments.)

Let us say, therefore, that a statement of empirical observation may be established at its own level beyond any reasonable doubt, meaning by this that to ask for further corroboration would be taken as a sign not of rationality but of neurotic compulsion. This means we have to appeal to a conviction that this point has been reached. We may also ask what is meant by 'its own level'; what is the degree of precision required; and how far can wider considerations of a more dubitable kind be excluded in establishing a finite truth of this kind? Let us take another

example. We are moving house, and the furniture removers tell us that our grand piano will not go up the stairs. They have tried it this way and that, and have measured it and measured the stairs, and after repeated attempts in all sorts of positions we and our furniture removers can only resign ourselves to the finality of that particular finite truth, and decide that drastic methods of a different kind must be taken, such as dismantling the piano, or having it hauled through a window. But supposing a philosopher were to come along and say: How do you know the statement 'My grand piano won't go up the stairs' is quite true? Perhaps it isn't your grand piano; perhaps someone has substituted another one during the removal. Well then, let us make a more cautious statement: that piece of furniture won't go up the stairs. But then he may query whether it is an object of furniture; perhaps a piano ought not to be described as such, but as a musical instrument. Or perhaps during the removal someone substituted a skilful fake of a piano case and the inside is full of shavings and old tins. Would we not come to the point when we should say: Well, whatever it is, call it what you like, *that object won't go up the stairs* and it would be absurd to go on trying. Then perhaps the philosopher will say that there is a possibility of the order of one in n billions that all the atoms in it might become bunched up in such a way that its shape would be so altered that it suddenly would go up the stairs. Then let us say that unless some chance of the order of one in n billions occurs, that object won't go up the stairs, and subject to that qualification our finite truth can still stand. Or we may be told that we have left *time* out of our calculations, and given a long enough time, the piano will begin to disintegrate, and what is left of it will then go up the stairs. But by then so, too, will the stairs have disintegrated, and we and our furniture removal squad will undoubtedly have disintegrated long before that. At this point the philosopher might take another line of attack, and say that the *meaning* of the statement that 'the grand piano won't go up the stairs' can only be properly understood in the light of our theory of the nature of space and of matter; that such theories are highly dubitable and that they are linked with a whole philosophy of nature and even metaphysics, and until all this has been established we cannot establish our finite truth. This is to turn from the problem of whether a finite truth is always corrigible by other statements of the same type to the problem of what difference may be made to its meaning if we not only consider it within a limited frame of reference but raise

questions about the presuppositions and conditions which determine the type to which it belongs. Can statements of a higher type (such as statements describing a philosophical view of space) make a difference to statements of a lower type, such as the empirical statement that the piano won't go up the stairs? It would be much simpler if we could always just say that if a statement satisfies the criteria of the type of statement to which it belongs, that that is what we mean by saying that it is established, and that statements belonging to a different type, such as interpretative theories in a philosophy of nature, will make no difference to the finite truth. In the case of empirical facts of a kind to which we are accustomed, where the methods of establishing them and the level on which they are to be established are generally agreed, this seems to be largely so. We must know what kind of question we are asking, and what kind of evidence would be taken as answering it. But we must also be able to agree that this is a normal case, and that we can trust our powers of observation. Given these assumptions, even if our removal squad consisted of a relativity physicist, a Berkleian, a Newtonian, and a naïve realist, they might all agree about the brute fact that the piano would not go up the stairs, in any sense of the fact relevant to the problem at issue. So provided we know the sort of evidence needed to establish an empirical statement and the technique of testing it, and provided it is a statement of not too unusual a kind, agreement on it can be reached by people whose ultimate categories of interpretation may be very different. Hence the possibility of people of different outlooks collaborating in research, in which they can reach agreement on 'facts'. Hence, too, it is tempting to say that ultimate categories of interpretation in *no* case make a difference to statements of empirical fact (this is sometimes given as a reason for calling such categories 'metaphysical' in a pejorative sense).

But what of the cases where the fact to be established is not of a usual kind, or where there is no general agreement as to what would constitute evidence to establish the fact at the level of precision required? Then it appears that judgements of more general character about 'the sort of thing we are prepared to believe can happen' and 'the sort of thing we are not prepared to believe can happen' may affect what we are prepared to accept as evidence. We may set up a resistance against accepting even strong observational evidence if it violates these normal expectations too violently—like the old lady at the zoo who

looked at the camel and said: 'There's no such animal.' Receptions of the evidence for paranormal phenomena have made this abundantly clear. Bradley saw this problem in connexion with what he called (writing in 1874) 'mesmeric phenomena'.¹ The testimony to these, he says, must be of the strongest, and, what is more important, we must feel assured that the witnesses recognize the same kind of critical standards as we recognize ourselves. Observations of some (though not all) kinds of paranormal phenomena are now being made under conditions in which it is impossible to say that these standards are not recognized. Yet because of the strain which accepting, for example, alleged cases of precognition puts on some of our normal categories of interpretation such as the order of causal sequences, in these cases many people say they are reluctant to take even strong empirical evidence at its face value. But what is meant by 'face value'? The question is really at what level we are prepared to make what we claim to be a statement of fact. It seems that it must be at a more advanced level than a mere report of immediate sensory data, otherwise we should not have enough interpretation of what is observed to be able to make a statement that something is the case. But if we include too much interpretation we shall be including an explanatory hypothesis in our statement of what is the case, for instance, saying not only 'A named the card which was next to be turned up', but 'A had precognition of the card next to be turned up'. The question seems to be how much interpretation can be included in a statement of what we believe to be the case, without its inclusion turning the statement into a statement of a different order. Rule out all interpretation and you do not assert enough for a statement of fact: bring in too much and you are turning it into a different kind of statement. But where is the line to be drawn? In statements of fact the question is not only one of reporting what is observed but of the appropriateness of a description of what is the case. In the 'normal' case (for instance, that the grand piano is too big to go up the stairs) the appropriateness of the description of what is the case on the evidence of observation would be one on which there is likely to be general agreement. In the unusual or paranormal instance the statement of what is the case on the evidence of what is observed may still be open to dispute. The dispute occurs because some proffered statements of what is here the case violate certain of our convictions about what we believe it is reasonable to suppose can happen. And this indicates that

¹ 'The Presuppositions of Critical History', *Collected Essays*, vol. i, pp. 29 ff.

these convictions were being assumed in the judgement on the 'normal' case. Whewell pointed out long ago that something which yesterday would have been called 'interpretation of a fact' is to-day called 'perception of a fact' if in the meantime the interpretation has been tested and validated and has become habitual.

There is another possibility in the case of an unusual event which does not accord with our normal expectations or normal views of causality; it may be called a 'miracle'. To call it this is to include in the statement of an occurrence an interpretative theory about its causation; it is to say that part of the total description of what is occurring includes the statement that it is due to supernatural causes. On the other hand, we may hold as part of our interpretative theory that 'supernatural causes' are impossible or meaningless, in which case we shall try and explain away the alleged empirical evidence, doubt the reliability of the witnesses, or try our hardest to find some alternative explanation. What was the 'fact' described as the raising of Lazarus? On the one interpretation, you may say a dead man was raised after three days by supernatural power; on the other, that a moribund man wrongly thought dead was restored to consciousness by hearing the strong voice of a loved friend. It may be possible, it is said, in some cases for men pronounced dead to be resuscitated. Is the same fact being reported in either case? Only if we restrict the statement of fact to the statement of empirical evidence and this to reports of certain sensory data occurring at a certain date. But if we are prepared to include in the statement of fact that the sensory data were to be interpreted as the perception of a man, and that the man had really been dead, or that he had not really been dead, then proposals as to the kind of explanatory categories we are prepared to use will affect our statements of what happened.

Let us now take statements of historical fact where there is no question of explanation in terms of supernatural categories. Here we can also decide how widely or how narrowly we make a statement of fact, and the way it is likely to be affected by different interpretations will vary accordingly. Take a statement topical at the time of writing (30 Jan. 1949): that Charles I was beheaded at Whitehall on 30 Jan. 1649. This is surely as well established an historical fact as we are likely to get, and we can confidently say that it is unlikely that evidence against its occurrence could be stronger than the evidence for its occurrence which we already have. There is, I suppose, the bare possibility

that Charles was abducted to France, and that the man beheaded was some 'Sidney Carton' disguised as the king. But it might be possible by exhuming the body to find identifying marks which would put even this possibility out of court. Charles's death is accepted by those who would enlarge the statement of what occurred on 30 Jan. 1649 into the statement that it was the death of a royal martyr, and also by those who would enlarge the statement of what occurred into the statement that it was the execution of a public enemy. But both these latter versions of what occurred may be said to assert more than what merely happened; they are tendentious in that they are including in the statement of fact an interpretation from a particular point of view. Well then, let us restrict the 'fact' to the statement that Charles I was beheaded. That is surely neutral ground among all schools of thought. Not if some were to maintain that the man beheaded was no longer Charles I. He had forfeited his royal title, and was simply Charles Stuart 'that man of blood'. So let us say that the 'fact' that the spectators saw in Whitehall was a head severed from a body, both head and body up to that moment having had a continuous life-history with the body and head known by the name of Charles Stuart, and for a certain period of that life-history (the exact duration of which period being a matter of dispute) known as Charles I. Here we seem to have reached a finite truth which could be common ground to historians of whatever school. But historical judgements are not like this. Philosophers might talk like this, but historians would not. Historical statements are more than reports of observations. Some of them are statements about human purposes and policies, and even motives. Can Charles on some particular occasion properly be said to have been injudicious? And at his death can he be said to have been courageous? Were the Parliamentarians justified in thinking that Charles having started a second civil war, there was no likelihood of settled peace so long as he was alive?

It seems, then, that a statement of fact may be made more or less narrowly. At its lowest, as a report of observation, it contains a minimum of interpretation, but is too narrow to be called an historical statement. As the statement is made wider, terms expressing interpretation of character, motive, policy come in, and these rest on analogies from what we know about human behaviour, and of what kind of characteristics are evidenced by what kinds of behaviour. Here powers of imagination and sympathetic insight come in, but as they are guided by knowledge of human nature, they can be argued and appeal made to fairly

widely recognized criteria of evidence, though criteria less widely accepted than those used in sensory observation. But as the 'fact' is stated more widely, or some general descriptive label put on it, such as 'the death of Charles I', or still more 'the death of a royal martyr', the appropriateness of the description may be challenged on grounds of general schemes of values. And in these cases several different types of statement are coalescing. Historical statements, then, it seems are not of a single type. We may indeed say that expressions such as 'the death of a royal martyr' or of 'a public enemy' are not the kind that any historian as such would use. Nevertheless, even short of expressions such as these, historians are bound to use expressions in which terms of evaluation enter. There may be techniques for the use of evidence in establishing particular statements of fact—a date, say, or the presence of someone on a particular occasion. But it may then be said that the fact, though true, has been presented 'out of proportion', or that 'undue emphasis' has been placed upon it. For such 'finite truths' as an historian seeks to establish must be given a significance; that is to say, he must judge what uses can legitimately be made of them in reconstructing a wider story of events, or, if he is writing historical biography, in evaluating character. Here qualities of judgement and appreciation come in, probably akin to those used in everyday life, but trained through historical study to avoid anachronism. Hence it seems that though there may be techniques for trying to establish finite truths within historical studies, such studies as a whole cannot form a closed system of concepts, still less a system of concepts which could be formalized, so that in using them the historian could avoid the responsibilities of making judgements and evaluations. Here at any rate Bradley's contention holds good, that any particular 'world' of ideas has ragged edges. By 'ragged edges' we may understand, partly at any rate, the difficulty of distinguishing rigidly the different types of question which may be contained in one expression. We shall find them coalescing. To recall the example of our travelling family: Suppose Mr. Brown were to ask himself not just 'Have I locked the back door?' but 'Have I taken all reasonable precautions to see that the house is secure, compatible with having to leave in time to catch the train?' The term 'reasonable precautions' introduces an evaluation as well as a statement of fact. It is arguable that Mr. Brown might just have had time to run round once more trying the catches on all the windows; there are questions of fact about the state of the house and the time at his disposal;

but there is also the judgement of what, given these, would be considered 'reasonable precautions', and this is not only a factual judgement.

Then can *any* system of statements be formed into a self-contained world, depending on no wider context? This is the aim in formalized logical systems, and it may be maintained that such systems can be abstracted from epistemological, and still more from psychological conditions, and developed simply in terms of their internal logic. Mathematics may seem to be the most perfect example of a self-contained world, developed from its own postulates, and depending on no wider context. Because of its extreme abstractness, it is no doubt more possible in mathematical thinking to be guided by purely mathematical considerations than it is for any other kind of thinking to remain rigorously within its own type. But even here, the creative thinking done by a mathematician presumably differs from the scrutiny of the logic of the externalized product of his thought, and still more from the standardized processes which can in principle be carried out on calculating machines. There are the glimpses after new methods; the achievement of elegance (an aesthetic consideration); the direction of interest to one branch of mathematical thinking rather than another (we need not be Marxist disciples of Mr. Hogben to think that directions of emphasis and interest may not always be due to considerations purely internal to mathematics).

Our problem would be much simpler if we could always just assign a statement to its appropriate type, and say 'This is a statement of observation', 'This is a moral statement', 'This is an historical statement', 'This is a theological statement', and could leave it at that, and consider it in terms of the language and methods proper to statements of that kind. These distinctions must be made, and for the purposes of specialized inquiries must be observed. A fruitful source of logical confusion is to mix up distinctions and descriptions proper to one type with those of another, as when we are told that the table is not 'really solid'. In any context in which it is meaningful to talk of a table as solid, the table *is* solid, as, for instance, one made of brown paper for a piece of scenery on the stage would not be solid. The term 'solid' may become inappropriate when we consider the table under a different set of abstractions, as, for instance, in mathematical physics, but that is another story. These distinctions of level and type of statement must be observed for the sake of clarity. Yet simply to make and observe these distinctions fails

to satisfy us, and this is what Bradley is continually insisting.

Perhaps we can put the point by saying that there is a systematic ambiguity in the conception of truth. On the one hand, a true statement is one which satisfies the criteria of a statement of its particular type, and this was the meaning we gave to a 'finite truth'. On the other hand, every finite truth is always subject to certain assumptions and qualifications, so that from another point of view it is potentially a partial truth. There is always more that can be said about it if we raise questions about these assumptions and qualifications. Bradley is perhaps indicating this systematic ambiguity in his distinction of 'finite' and 'absolute' truth. If by 'absolute truth' were meant a truth outside any frame of reference and with no particular criteria, it is difficult to see what this could mean, and if 'metaphysics' were supposed to be the systematic development of a truth of this kind, it is not hard to see why it should be thought to be a pseudo-study. But I do not think this was Bradley's meaning. Most other idealists have tried to imagine the possibility of some type of total thinking free from the condition of being carried on subject to certain abstract limitations. But I think that Bradley was continually conscious both that every form of intellectual expression was only possible within a limited frame of reference, and also that in principle in the end this produces intellectual dissatisfaction. Hence, his use of the idea of absolute as contrasted with finite truth does not mean that he can develop statements in an overall system free from limitations. On the positive side the use of the idea of absolute truth is an enunciation of his model of theoretical validity, and on the negative side it has a 'lest we forget' function as a critique of abstractions, serving as a reminder that our several worlds of thought are selective and organized round different interests.

As a model of theoretical validity, Bradley offers us the criterion of coherence. But we have said that there is no reason to suppose that the criterion internal to every type of statement, such as empirical, ethical, or aesthetic statements, is always one of coherence (in any strict sense, as a system of implications), and still less that the inter-type relation between, for instance, empirical and ethical statements is a coherence relation. Bradley's doctrine of 'degrees of truth', in which increasing coherence is the criterion of approximation to absolute truth, would need, I think, to be restated as a doctrine of types of truth, in which, on the one hand, we have the criteria proper to the type truth, and, on the other hand, some conception of what modification

would give intellectual satisfaction if the type truth were seen in relation to its background.

To restate the doctrine of degrees of truth in terms of types, would, I think, enable us to avoid the difficulty that arises on Bradley's view, when he has to say that the more far-reaching the implications of a truth, the more certain it must be. So in comparing a truth of a 'subordinate' kind, such as the empirical statement that England was conquered by the Normans, with a truth of a 'higher' kind, such as a metaphysical principle, Bradley says that the latter must be the more *certain* since if it were overthrown, more of our organized intellectual world would go down with it.¹ This is to fail to distinguish between the relative *certainly* of two types of truth, and the question of whether the one may belong to a more complex system of reference than the other, and have in that sense more far-reaching implications. The modified truth may not be more true or more certain than the simple type, such as an empirical statement, though it may have a more involved kind of truth.

The modified truth would be the type truth restated in relation to a background so as to give intellectual satisfaction. If we were asked to state the criterion of intellectual satisfaction in terms other than Bradley's model of coherence, I suppose we should have to say something like that the absolute truth would be the finite truth stated with all its qualifications, and its relations to other types of statements exhibited (e.g. if our finite truth were part of the perceptual description of the table we should need to be able to relate it to the mathematical-physical description of the table), so that nothing more remained to be said. But this is a formal definition of what would constitute absolute intellectual satisfaction. In actual operation it is presumably impossible to exhaust the possibilities of all the other types of statement to which any finite truth belonging to our type would have to be related. There always might be more possible kinds to be taken into account.

If the criterion of absolute truth can only be stated as a formal definition, is there any value in adding it to the criteria of the various types of truth? First, we can say that we recognize that there is an epistemological problem in the fact that every kind of finite truth is made subject to assumptions and may have to be modified when related to its background. Secondly, if we ask why we should so relate it, there are psychological reasons and

¹ Terminal Essay 'On Absolute Truth and Probability', *Logic*, 2nd ed., vol. ii, pp. 684 ff.

also methodological reasons which may be brought forward. The psychological reasons are due to the fact that in the end we cannot help it. In the end we are not tripartite or multipartite souls, always anxiously looking over our shoulders whenever we make a statement to see if anyone is asking whether we have made clear what sort of statement we are making. There is the background of our thinking and experience from which the different interests on which the distinctions of different types of statement are based have been separated out. And this background has something to do with our unity as thinkers behind our frames of reference. It is not easy to see how this 'unity' should be described, and it is certainly difficult to believe that the thought or experience of any of us forms a unity of a closely systematic kind. It is rather, I believe, something which is expressed through our operative general convictions. We have seen that even when we have distinguished different kinds of statement and methods of establishing finite truths in their particular contexts, these contexts may be invaded by considerations drawn from the background of our general convictions. If this is so, it is very necessary to try to find out what the character of these convictions is. They may turn out to be a very mixed bag. Some of them, we have seen, come out in general beliefs about what can or cannot happen, and about the kinds of things we take to be important. Others come out in those non-formalized expressions such as 'beyond reasonable doubt', 'undue emphasis', 'after due precautions' which we have found are likely to occur in thinking done in various frames of reference, and particularly in empirical thinking. The considerations expressed in such phrases may sometimes be mere prejudices; sometimes, even if we cannot give rules for their operation, they are matters about which we are prepared to argue. It is therefore clearly important to try to articulate these convictions and try to find out what sorts of consideration enter into them. Sometimes beliefs about what is or is not reasonable may depend on the state of empirical knowledge, and may be corrected by its advance; as when people thought that it was unreasonable to believe that there could be inhabitants in the Antipodes, since they would fall off the earth. Sometimes, we have seen, beliefs about what it is reasonable to suppose can happen depend on categories of what is taken as fact, which may be open to revision. Sometimes convictions affecting our thinking may reflect various kinds of evaluation. It is unlikely that the body of our operative general convictions, since they seem to be of so mixed a character, could

be articulated in a single system of principles which could provide some over-all frame of reference. It is more likely that they will be found to provide certain characteristics of our thinking which may affect it in all frames of reference. This is a reason for trying to see how particular statements in particular frames of reference may be related to our general convictions, since if we fail to do so we shall be uncritical about the ways in which these may be influencing our thinking.

The conception of a systematic ambiguity in the meaning of truth, whereby every finite truth may both be true within its context and a potential half-truth when related to its background, may have its methodological use. We may block possibilities of further knowledge if we neglect the fact that every finite truth is asserted subject to a background of assumptions about which questions can be raised. This is so especially in empirical thinking, where some of these assumptions are assumptions about the conditions of what is to be taken as constituting a fact. These assumptions may be open to revision and to refuse to revise them may mean to foreclose possible lines of inquiry. Moreover, there are cases where statements of one type may cause us to qualify statements of another, as when we found the description in perceptual language of the piano which would not go up the stairs might have to be qualified (though here only by a chance of one in n billions) when the perceptual description was related to the description of the situation in the language of mathematical physics. This is no doubt a trivial qualification; but there are good reasons for viewing different types of description together and noticing ways in which one may lead us to qualify another, since if we do not do so we may miss possibilities of the extension and correction of knowledge. That there are different types of description of anything means not only that each type is incomplete, but that it may sometimes be incomplete in a way which may lead us to modify what we already have in our description. So possibly the reviewing together of descriptions of psychological phenomena in behaviourist language and in introspective language may suggest qualifications and modifications in both types of description, and open up fresh possibilities of investigation. And this might happen if we were to take account also of a description of the same phenomena in ethical language. Hence, the need to keep open lines of communication between the different kinds of description. And this is perhaps more likely to be done if we are conscious both of the need to define methods by which finite truths may be established

as special answers to special questions, and at the same time if we are conscious that the very limitations which make finite truths possible mean that from another point of view there is always more that can be said about them.

It is in the way he sees this, rather than in a questionable view of 'Internal Relations', that I believe the greatness of Bradley's contribution lies. He was, indeed, led to write at times as though no finite truth could be established even within the terms of its limited context. But he modified this in some of his later work, and especially in some of the notes published in the *Collected Essays*. In an unfinished draft of an article on 'Relations' on which he was working in 1923 and 1924, he wrote:

We are not called on everywhere (I also am sure) to emphasize the difference between our abstractions and the concrete fact. It would be stupid, I agree, to insist everywhere that, with a relation and its terms, a change made on one side makes also a change on the other side. Any one, I suppose, can see, and can maintain that a man can still be the same man, though one or more of his relations have become different. And none of us, I presume, seek in practice to deny that a relation may remain the same, though those who entered into it, and still remain in it, have more or less modified their characters. For such alterations may—or again they need not—change what we are taking as the vital point here in some entire situation. But, on the other side, all of us (I hope) may agree, whether in theory or in life, that there is something which is too often forgotten. We tend to forget that, whether we like it or not, we have to deal with abstractions and to take our stand on partial aspects; and that these, however proper and right in one connexion and in one place, may none the less in another place be ruinously false.

Our one way of safety, whether in theory or in life, is (I presume) more or less to keep in mind the danger inseparable from our use of abstractions. Everywhere, I presume, when so called on, we should be ready to consider, and perhaps to agree that we are leaving out something required to make the whole and real truth—and to do this even where we cannot show and specify what particular aspect in a given case is lacking. Everywhere, in short, we should be ready to recall that our judgements fall short of, and are subject to correction by, the entire truth and whole reality—however much for our present purpose we have a right to believe that such a correction would not be material.¹

So the lesson Bradley drives home to us has these two sides. On the one hand we must recognize that statements, if significant, are always made within some frame of reference. 'Verify your references'—Dr. Routh's famous piece of advice—may be important for more purposes than those of scholarship. The

¹ *Collected Essays*, vol. ii, pp. 639-40.

contexts determine what kind of statement we are making, and when we can agree on inter-subjective methods of evidence and the level of precision required by the context, then, given these conditions, finite truths may be established. But, on the other hand, Bradley reminds us that this is never the whole of the story. In a sustained piece of inquiry, statements of different types may have to be combined; except in purely formalized thought, the various types of statement with their internal criteria cannot be entirely cut off from the controlling background of our thinking and experience. To be reminded of the unity of the thinker behind various types of statement is not fashionable, and may seem to be going back on carefully stated distinctions between logic, epistemology, and psychology. But I believe that Bradley was saying something important in stressing the background of experience, from which convictions may arise which subtly affect the judgements we make as philosophers, scientists, historians, greengrocers, or what you will. It is perhaps significant that Bradley uses throughout the word *judgement* where I have used *statement*. The word witnesses to his refusal in the end, whatever may be necessary provisionally, to make a final separation of logic, epistemology, and psychology. It may have been when thinking in this vein about the articulation of general convictions that Bradley could call metaphysics 'the finding of bad reasons for what we believe on instinct'. But when he is being less epigrammatic and perhaps more considered, he connects the metaphysical sense with the consciousness of the provisional nature of the idealizations, the artificial 'worlds' which make thinking possible. Not but what he vigorously defends the use of such idealizations. 'A special science', he says, 'is lost if it forgets its limited scope and attempts to tell the whole and entire truth about its subject.'¹ In 'A Defence of Phenomenalism in Psychology', he writes that the very essence of a science is to employ convenient fictions. Can I not work with ideas like 'disposition', he asks, 'unless I can state these in a form which is ultimately and utterly true?'²

So far as the 'real truth' or the fiction serves as a law to explain the phenomenal sequence, it is admissible within psychology, and beyond that it is illegitimate. A disposition, for instance, may be identified with a conation. Now if and so far as by this identification we can better bring the particular facts under their laws of happening, the use of

¹ Terminal Essay 'On Inference', *Logic*, 2nd ed., vol. ii, p. 613.

² *Collected Essays*, vol. ii, p. 372.

conation would be an explanation and would therefore be justified as a working fiction.¹

The essence of error, Bradley held, was to claim more than can rightly be claimed for a partial truth: to think that it can still stand in the same sense outside its context. This, we may be sure, is not the whole meaning of error: it does not, for instance, account for a statement which is erroneous within its own context. But it calls attention to one important source of error: the transference of ideas outside the frame of reference within which they are significant.

Bradley would therefore agree that it is important to distinguish different sorts of questions and to determine what considerations are appropriate to them. He could remark that 'there is a fair presumption that any truth which cannot be exhibited at work is for the most part untrue'.² 'Truths' are exhibited at work by showing how they could be established as answers to special questions. Yet Bradley saw that to distinguish and maintain particular 'truths' within their proper frames of reference does not finally satisfy. Each frame of reference depends on the acceptance of certain assumptions, as an historian, for instance, presumably accepts the reality of the past, but the meaning of these assumptions may itself be open to question in the context of another type of inquiry. The fact that what is a presupposition in one frame of reference is open to question in another would not be a difficulty if we could keep our frames of reference rigorously apart, and if we could say that all we need mean by a presupposition is a postulate (or proposal) which enables statements of a particular kind to be developed. But we have said that there is some sense in which thinking is a unity, and not just a kind of a card catalogue of different frames of reference. Hence we cannot stop at talking of statements as true of their type. We cannot do without the distinction of different types of statement; and new types may be developed, as when we get the narrowing down of a new specialism with its own postulates within some broader field. Such narrowing down of specialisms may open up fresh possibilities of controlled investigation. So certain kinds of economic theory can be developed in their own terms, in abstraction from the broader background of that mixture of different disciplines which used to be called Political Economy. But there will be times when it is well to review the abstractions under which *homo economicus* is studied against the

¹ Ibid., p. 374.

² *Appearance and Reality*, p. 400.

wider background of different descriptions of man, psychological, political, and even ethical.

I suggest, then, that to view the problem of presuppositions and finite truths we need to cultivate a twofold way of thinking indicated by the systematic ambiguity we have found in the meaning of truth. On the one hand, we need to recognize the need to develop specialized types of thinking which will prescribe methods by which answers can be given to particular kinds of question. On the other hand, we need to be aware that there is a wider background which we may be ignoring for the purpose of our specialism. If we think only in terms of the specialism and limited frame of reference, we may be unconscious and uncritical of ways in which considerations from the wider background, in the form of what I have called operative general convictions, may in fact be influencing our thinking even within the specialized frame of reference. (Presuppositions of this kind are much more difficult to diagnose and describe than are the postulates defining a particular specialized type of thinking.) Moreover, the refusal to look at one type of statement in relation to others may limit our imagination as to possible ways in which different kinds of inquiry might cross-fertilize one another. But the remedy for such limitation is not to be found in an ideology which may lead us to fail to respect the different methods, techniques, and distinctions which make possible special answers to special questions. A philosophical approach should, I believe, resist both these extremes. It should remind us of the need to review the different types of statement in relation to one another, and serve as a critique of the abstractions under which each works. It should thus make us aware of the qualifications to which finite truths are subjected. It should not consist in setting up some total system of thinking as a substitute for the methods of determining evidence by which finite truths are established. But by making us conscious of background it may help us to see the different specialized types of statement in a new perspective. This can have two main functions. It should encourage us to review our types of statement in relation to one another, so that we may keep open possible lines of communication, and be on the look-out for ways in which suggestions arising from one type may advance our thinking in another; and by making us more critically aware of how general convictions from the background of our thought may enter into each type, it may help us to develop responsible judgement at the points where these influence our thinking.

ANNUAL SHAKESPEARE LECTURE

SHAKESPEARE IN SPAIN

By SIR HENRY THOMAS

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Read 27 April 1949

IN the Tylorian lecture for 1922, under the vague title *Shakespeare and Spain*, I gave a conservative account of the various reflections of Spain in Shakespeare's works. This afternoon, under the equally vague title *Shakespeare in Spain*, I offer a counterpart to the Oxford lecture.

Like the grave-digger's 'act' in *Hamlet*, my title has three 'branches'. Shakespeare may stand for the man himself, for his works in their native English, or for those works in translations, adaptations, and imitations. The last branch provides my main theme. The other two are less important and will not detain us long.

Did Shakespeare ever go to Spain? Those interested both in Shakespeare and in Spain would naturally like to think that he had a first-hand, even if superficial, acquaintance with the country. Some gaily assume that he might at any moment step on to a boat in the Thames and find an easy, though uncomfortable, passage to the sunny Spanish shore, and back. They are encouraged by his mention, in *Love's Labour's Lost*, of 'tawny Spain', so apt a description of the landscape, at least in some parts of Spain and at certain seasons of the year, that it suggests personal observation. If such it really was, the trip to Spain might be a youthful escapade, for *Love's Labour's Lost* is one of the earliest plays. But 'tawny' is an epithet that slips easily from Shakespeare's pen: he uses it ten times in the plays; and he could have formed a mental picture of the Spanish landscape from conversations with others, including Spaniards.

Love's Labour's Lost was touched up late in Queen Elizabeth's reign, and perhaps also for performance before King James I's play-loving Queen in 1604. About that time Shakespeare would not need to go far for information about Spain. His fellow lodger in the Mountjoy household, Stephen Bellott, went on a brief journey to Spain in 1604. Shakespeare, interested in Bellott's romance with Miss Mountjoy, would be a ready listener to the returned traveller's tales.

Sr. Astrana Marín, in his recent *Vida inmortal de William Shakespeare*, speculates on what took Stephen Bellott, a barber, to Spain. Whom did he accompany? Shakespeare perhaps? At any rate, he 'suspects' that Shakespeare was one of the 750 Englishmen who in 1605 accompanied the Earl of Nottingham on his mission as ambassador extraordinary to Valladolid, at that time the capital and court of Spain. In a private letter to me last autumn, while correcting the number of visitors from 750 to 506, Sr. Astrana Marín 'is sure' that Shakespeare was one of them, and in the intervals between more pressing tasks, he is continuing his search of the Valladolid records,¹ confident of finding Shakespeare among those lodged in the capital. We may safely leave the task of replacing wishful thinking by recorded fact to this indefatigable investigator, to whom Shakespeare in Spain owes so much in modern times.

If Shakespeare did not go to Spain himself, did his printed works supply his place?

Literary traffic between England and Spain in Shakespeare's day was mainly a one-way affair, with the advantage distinctly on our side. There is no suggestion that the Shakespeare Quartos, the single plays first printed during the author's lifetime, ever reached Spain. The case is different with the collected plays, first published a few years after his death—the First Folio of 1623.

Sir Sidney Lee, in his *Census* of extant copies of the First Folio, published in 1902, states that 'one copy was acquired in 1623 by the Spanish Ambassador at the English Court, Count Gondomar, and was handed down as an heirloom to his descendants in Spain. It was examined some sixty years ago by the late Señor Gayangos, while in the possession of a representative of the ancient Gondomar family at the Casa del Sol at Valladolid. Gayangos reported that it contained many MS. interpolations in English, often in verse. Although the library at the Casa del Sol to which the volume belonged is stated to be still intact, it is now neglected, and of late years endeavours to find the volume there have proved unsuccessful.'

The circumstances in which the late Señor Gayangos came to examine a Shakespeare First Folio at Valladolid are described by Mrs. Humphry Ward in *A Writer's Recollections*, published in 1918. She had the story from Señor Gayangos himself, when they were fellow examiners for the Spanish Taylorian scholarship at Oxford in 1883, and she tells it most persuasively from memory after a lapse of nearly forty years. The gist of it is as follows:

Travelling to England from Madrid 'as quite a young man, somewhere in the thirties of the last century', Gayangos (who would be twenty-one in 1830) stopped for a night at Valladolid and went to see an acquaintance of his, the newly appointed librarian of an aristocratic family having a 'palace' there. He found his friend in the old library clearing up. A number of 'useless and miscellaneous' books were burning in a brazier and filling the room with smoke. 'Gayangos picked one up. It was a volume containing the plays of Mr. William Shakespeare, and published in 1623.' It was in excellent preservation; according to an inscription it had belonged to Count Gondomar; and its margins were covered with notes in a seventeenth-century hand.

On reaching England Gayangos mentioned the matter to Sir Thomas Phillipps—for whom he collected Spanish books and manuscripts—and his future son-in-law, Mr. Halliwell. 'The excitement of both', we are told, 'knew no bounds. . . . The very thought of such a treasure perishing barbarously in a bonfire of waste-paper was enough to drive a bibliophile out of his wits. Gayangos was sent back to Spain post haste. But alack, he found a library swept and garnished, no trace of the volume he had once held there in his hand.'

And so we need not follow Mrs. Humphry Ward in her romantic dreams of what those marginal notes might have contained: 'perhaps, though the First Folio, of course, does not include the Poems, some faint key to the perennial Shakespeare mysteries—to Mr. W. H., and the "dark lady", and all the impenetrable story of the Sonnets.' Let us glance instead at what the Marqués de Villa-Urrutia, Spanish Ambassador in England from 1905 to 1914, has to say of his seventeenth-century predecessor's library, in the discourse he pronounced on *La Embajada del Conde de Gondomar a Inglaterra en 1613*, on his entry into the Real Academia de la Historia in 1913.

'Gondomar's rich library, preserved in the house he owned near old St. Benet's, called the House of the Sun from a stone which crowned the façade, must have enjoyed a certain fame in Valladolid and in all Castile, and have been much consulted during the eighteenth century, till about the year 1785 the Marqués de Malpica, the then heir to the title and estates of Gondomar, in obedience to a hint, almost a command, from King Charles IV, handed it over for incorporation in one which . . . along with other more or less important collections, in the course of time came to constitute the library in the Royal Palace, known as His Majesty's Private Library.'

The authority for this statement is given as Don Pascual de Gayangos.

At first sight it would seem that Gayangos here destroys the edifice built up by Sir Sidney Lee and Mrs. Humphry Ward, leaving his own reputation in the ruins. But a king's commands, whether they come as hints or as income-tax claims, are disobeyed as far as it is safe to do so, and presumably some part of Gondomar's library was kept back, and a Shakespeare saved from the King in Madrid, to perish in a brazier at Valladolid. For though Gayangos's story dates from the time when he was 'not much acquainted with English or English literature', and 'knew nothing of Shakespeare bibliography', and though we may suspect that some of the details were worked back into the story from the excited comments of his patrons, it is unlikely that he invented a Shakespeare volume. And a volume of Shakespeare's plays in Gondomar's old house would hardly be imported by anyone but the Count himself. He collected books assiduously while in England. He left in 1622. The only volume of Shakespeare's plays his friends or agents could send after him was the First Folio of 1623, for he died in 1628.

A jury would probably accept the Gondomar First Folio as a fact, though the lawyers would find matter for argument in the evidence.² They would, moreover, make some play with the additional evidence that a copy of the Second Folio of 1632 certainly reached Valladolid. The English College there, a sixteenth-century foundation, possessed a copy as recently as 1930. And this, too, had manuscript notes. They were by 'the censor, the Jesuit Guillén Sánchez', who, ignoring moral considerations, wrote 'good' opposite all the plays except two of the histories, *King John* and *King Henry VIII*, in which he crossed out anti-monarchical and pro-Elizabethan passages.³

To another censor, quoted by Sr. Paz y Melia, late Keeper of Manuscripts in the Biblioteca Nacional, in his *Catálogo abreviado de papeles de Inquisición*, we owe the knowledge that someone was importing an edition of Shakespeare's plays into Spain well before the middle of the eighteenth century. The edition was an English one containing a Life of the Author, and so the censor could state in a manuscript note that 'he had no objection to make, except the suspicion that Shakespeare was a heretic, for in his Life it is said that he was born in Stratford, one of the provinces in England infected with heresy'.⁴ The note is dated 1742, at which time no translation of the plays was available.

Shakespeare in English could only be read in Spain by English

residents or by an occasional erudite Spaniard. The importation of the edition just mentioned throws no light on the beginning and growth of Shakespeare's appeal to the generality of Spaniards, which is the third branch of my subject.

English readers have at their disposal accounts of the Shakespeare cult in various countries, but Spain is not among them. Yet, if there has been neglect, the neglect is entirely on our own part. As early as 1883 Daniel López contributed an article on Shakespeare's early appearances in Spanish translations to the review *La Ilustración Española y Americana*. The first comprehensive study was a book entitled *Shakespeare en España, traducciones, imitaciones e influencia de las obras de Shakespeare en la literatura española*, published in 1918 by that modest scholar and specialist in the Spanish drama, Eduardo Juliá Martínez, who is fortunately still with us. A book with exactly the same title, published by Ricardo Ruppert y Ujaravi in 1920, naturally adds little or nothing to the story. Both these books have now been superseded by two works, each in two volumes, *Shakespeare en la literatura española*, and *Representaciones shakespearianas en España*, dated respectively 1935 and 1936-40, by my good friend and rival collector Alfonso Par of Barcelona.

Alfonso Par, a cotton merchant in the Catalan capital, president of the Centre Cotoner, a religious man, a Shakespeare and a Wagner enthusiast, was a predestined victim of the Red Terror when the Civil War broke out in 1936. On 26 August of that year some gentlemen in a car called on him, ostensibly on business, and invited him for a ride. The ride ended, as such rides usually did, at La Rabassada, a Barcelona pleasure resort, a wilder version of Hampstead Heath, to the north of the Tibidabo. His dead body was picked up there not long afterwards.

Fortunately for us, Sr. Par's second work was sufficiently advanced for his friends to finish and edit it, fairly satisfactorily if not so fully as its author would have done. He combined Spanish opulence with Germanic thoroughness. Both his works contain much that will only interest foreign scholars who can read him in the original, so no English translation has appeared. He has left little for succeeding writers to do but to continue his story down to date. My task now is to cover, with acknowledgements to Sr. Par, a very extensive field in what is left of the time allotted me. I can only call attention to the salient features.

Shakespeare came to the knowledge of the Spanish public late, imperfectly, indirectly, accidentally.

When in 1726 Voltaire was released from the Bastille for the second time, it was on condition that he displaced himself to England. During the three years he spent in this country before returning to France, he became well acquainted with Shakespeare's works and with English actors, including Garrick. Voltaire's standards were, of course, those of the classic French theatre of Racine and Corneille. To him, Shakespeare was a natural genius, totally lacking in taste and completely ignorant of the rules of art, who mixed scenes of sublime beauty or terrible intensity with others utterly absurd or grossly indecent. How Voltaire's qualified praise spread the knowledge and appreciation of Shakespeare in France and elsewhere, and how later he reacted violently, repenting bitterly of having been the first to call his countrymen's attention to the pearls in the Shakespearian dunghill, is a fascinating chapter in French literary history which does not concern us here. What is important is that his early verdict induced Jean François Ducis to translate several of Shakespeare's plays into French, and to meet some of his criticisms by subjecting the translations to the rules of the French classical drama.

Ducis, who was eventually elected to fill Voltaire's place in the French Academy, produced successively versions of *Hamlet*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *King Lear*, *Macbeth*, *King John*, and *Othello*. The first-named was acted in 1769, the last in 1792. The popularity of the tragedies in France is attested by frequent reprints down to modern times.

In the 'avertissement' to *Hamlet* Ducis informs us that he knew not a word of English, and that his versions are based on M. de La Place's *Le Théâtre anglois*, 1746-9, where the plays of Shakespeare and other dramatists are presented to French readers through translations of the major scenes linked together by synopses of the minor scenes. On such an imperfect foundation Ducis reconstructed six of Shakespeare's plays on the French classical pattern, reducing the number of characters and altering some of their English names to more euphonious forms, simplifying the action, tampering with motives, cutting out scenes considered discordant or irrelevant, and finally ironing Shakespeare out smooth in a succession of regular, not to say monotonous, rhymed Alexandrine couplets. It was not Shakespeare's misfortune alone that he was introduced by Jean François Ducis to France and the neighbouring countries, including Spain.

On a superficial view, Spain looked to be suitable ground for

transplanting both the original Shakespeare and the Ducis blend.

The Spanish national theatre of the seventeenth century, the Golden Age of Spanish literature, resembled the contemporary English theatre in its disregard of mechanical rules of art. But its inspiration was exhausted after the death of Calderón in 1681. The eighteenth century in Spain was unproductive in most branches of literature, especially the drama. Looking across from the beginning of the century towards the heights at the end, only one eminence shows, a little beyond the middle distance, above the general uniform level: Ramón de la Cruz (1731-94), a brilliant writer of short farcical sketches of low life and manners in Madrid.

Like others who have succeeded in comedy, Ramón de la Cruz cast a longing eye on serious drama. He soon produced a translation of the Ducis *Hamlet*, mostly in assonanced hendecasyllables, which was performed in Madrid in 1772. One might have expected that Shakespeare, as disguised by Ducis, would have met with a favourable reception on his first appearance in Spain. A change of dynasty at the beginning of the century had given the country a French court, and the court had done its best to bring Spain within the French cultural orbit. But the Spanish public did not welcome Ramón de la Cruz's *Hamlet*. It was withdrawn after a run of five performances, was never revived, and was not printed till 1900, when the *Revista Contemporanea* published it in instalments. A rival version, this time anonymous, was never acted, and remains in manuscript.

Ducis had rightly described his *Hamlet* as 'imitated from the English'. The real *Hamlet* took just over a quarter of a century longer to reach Spain than Ramón de la Cruz's third-hand version. It, too, came accidentally, but directly. The translator was Leandro Fernández de Moratín (1760-1828), who capped the above-mentioned heights at the end of the eighteenth century, winning by his original plays the title 'Restorer of the Spanish Theatre'. As a young man, Moratín spent some years in France; but the mad excesses of the French revolution drove him to England. Here, like Voltaire, he learned English and got to know Shakespeare's works and Shakespearian actors, including Kemble, who later visited the returned exile in Madrid. In England, too, he began his translation of *Hamlet*, which he finished in Italy and published under the pseudonym Inarco Celenio in Madrid in 1798, with a short Life of Shakespeare, and with notes.

Moratin, dramatist son of a dramatist father, and, like his father, of the French school, held much the same views on Shakespeare as had Voltaire. So, too, did most of his eighteenth-century compatriots who have recorded their opinions, which, like so many literary opinions, were second-hand.⁵ It is greatly to Moratin's credit, therefore, that his instincts overcame his prejudices, and that his translation of *Hamlet* is complete and faithful, all the more faithful to the letter for being in prose. He reserved for the notes his many objections, and they would have satisfied Voltaire in his worst moments, ranging from the harmless mouse at the very beginning to the drunken grave-digger playing at loggats with chapless skulls towards the end. What the Spanish public of the time would have thought of the real *Hamlet* we do not know, for though Moratin's translation has often been printed, especially in collected editions of his works or plays, it has never been acted. In the palmy days of their national theatre Spanish audiences had been used to ingenious dramatists presenting problems clearly stated and unequivocally settled, and impresarios of Moratin's day guessed, no doubt rightly, that people living under the same bright skies would not be attracted by the cloudy inconclusiveness of the play from the misty North. What is certain is that the Spanish theatre was then firmly under the influence of the French classical theatre, and remained so for the first third of the nineteenth century, in spite of the French invasion and the War of Independence. In these circumstances it was Ducis, who, in translation or adaptation, found readers and drew audiences in Spain.

Ducis, whose *Hamlet* had failed at the hands of Ramón de la Cruz in 1772, achieved a striking success thirty years later with his more mature *Othello*, in a verse translation by Teodoro La Calle, staged in Madrid in 1802, ten years after the first French performance in Paris. But this third-hand Spanish version of a Shakespearian tragedy by a third-rate poet owed its success to Spain's greatest tragic actor, Isidoro Máiquez, with whom *Othello* was a favourite part down to shortly before his death in 1826. Shakespeare is as diluted here as in *Hamlet* to French standards. The number of characters is reduced, some of their names are changed, the action is simplified. There was no longer any need for Shakespeare's profound knowledge of the human heart and subtle analyses of the human passions, where a simple explanation is ready at hand.

The crisis in *Othello* comes in the bedroom scene, after Pésaro

(that is, Iago) has treacherously denounced the innocent Edelmira and Loredano (Desdemona and Cassio). Edelmira, facing the enraged Othello with his drawn dagger, nobly defends the guiltless Loredano. She tells Othello that his dagger does not frighten her. A fatal challenge! With 'No . . . die then!' he stabs her and she staggers back towards the bed and falls lifeless. And then, as the stage-direction puts it, 'Othello proceeds':

'Tis well done

What I have done with this ungrateful creature.

So is her sinful passion justly punished,

Her infamous treachery confounded quite.

Never would I have dreamed that one so young

Could harbour in her heart such shameless pride.

'Tis the effect of the climate.⁶

That one example will suffice to show how much, and how little, of Shakespeare can have reached Spain through Ducis and his translators and adapters.

With very little help from other plays, *Othello*, frequently performed, and not infrequently printed, represented Shakespeare in Spain for a full generation. The other plays are *Macbeth*, *Romeo and Juliet*, and a tardy *Hamlet*.

There were two versions of *Macbeth* (1803 and 1812), two of *Romeo and Juliet* (1803 and 1817), and one of *Hamlet* (1825). Only the second *Romeo and Juliet* and the second *Macbeth* were printed, and only the second *Romeo and Juliet*, with half a dozen revivals in Madrid and Barcelona in over thirty years, achieved any popularity. All the versions were adapted from Ducis, except the earlier *Romeo and Juliet*. Here the Spanish adapter had before him the real Shakespeare in Le Tourneur's French translation, but to conform to the taste of the time he had to do the same (or worse) to Le Tourneur's *Roméo et Juliette* as Ducis had done to M. de La Place's *Hamlet*.

Spaniards can have gained but a meagre idea of Shakespeare's qualities and scope from these adaptations of just four of his tragedies, or from contemporary criticisms which were still, in the main, simple variations on Voltaire; and they would form a poor opinion of Shakespeare the man from a French one-act comedy by Alexandre Duval, *Shakespeare amoureux*, which was performed in the original language in Barcelona in 1810, during the French occupation of the city. To us, the piece is little short of blasphemous, but in the Spanish translation by Ventura de la Vega, *Shakespeare enamorado*, it proved irresistible to Spanish actors during the second quarter of the nineteenth century.

Meantime, a radical change was preparing. The forces of romanticism gathered in the north were gradually encircling and weakening France. German romanticism of the late eighteenth century drew its inspiration partly from Shakespeare, but mainly from Spain's history and legend and the drama of the Golden Age; from the early years of the nineteenth century it infiltrated naturally into Spain and started an ever-growing controversy over the Spanish drama. On the other side, many liberal-minded Spaniards had been forced to flee from their fatherland during the War of Independence and the despotic reign of King Ferdinand 'the Desired'. Some of them took refuge in England. In the course of a long residence they came under the spell of Shakespeare and the contemporary romanticists, notably Sir Walter Scott, and contributed to English as well as to Spanish literature. Best known of them here is José María Blanco, who forsook his native land and religion, settled among us as Joseph Blanco-White, and gave England one of her best sonnets, and Spain one of the best translations of Hamlet's famous soliloquy, to say nothing of a fragmentary translation from *King Richard II*. Never were so many educated Spaniards so well equipped to take advantage of dramatic liberty, and to present Shakespeare to their fellow countrymen, free from unnatural prejudices, when the opportunity came, as it did when the French classical drama capitulated to romanticism led by fifth-columnist Victor Hugo in 1830.

Though Spain was involved in civil war from 1833 to 1839, the benefits of the new freedom from artificial rules of art and canons of taste were soon manifest. In three successive years a masterpiece of the early Spanish romantic drama was produced: in 1835, *Don Alvaro, o la fuerza del sino*, by the Duque de Rivas, one of the exiles, whose works reveal obvious Shakespeare influences; in 1836, *El Trovador*, by Antonio García Gutiérrez; in 1837 *Los Amantes de Teruel*, by Juan Eugenio Hartzenbusch. The themes of the first two are unconsciously familiar to many through Verdi's operas *La Forza del destino* and *Il Trovatore*. The Lovers of Teruel are Spain's own Romeo and Juliet.

A year later José García de Villalta, who had spent ten years' exile in England and knew English well, followed up these three native plays with a complete, though far from faithful, verse translation of *Macbeth*, 'a new historic drama by the celebrated Shakespeare', the first translation made direct from the English since Moratín's prose version of *Hamlet* of some forty years earlier. It was both printed and acted in 1838, and it was so complete

a failure on the stage that it did not survive its first run of four performances.

García de Villalta's *Macbeth* and its disastrous failure constitute a landmark in the story of Shakespeare's works in Spain. It might have been expected that Spain would now appreciate the real Shakespeare, but it was made painfully clear that theatre-going Spaniards at least were not ready for him. They had the recent romantic successes; they had never lost interest in their seventeenth-century classics; and they clung to the four existing pseudo-Shakespearian tragedies; and though within twenty years two of the historical plays, *King John* and *King Richard III*, had increased the Shakespeare repertory in Spain, they added nothing to his reputation there. For the plays they inspired all came through France: *Juan sin Tierra* from the still popular Ducis, *Los Hijos de Eduardo* from Casimir Delavigne, and *Ricardo III* from Victor Séjour's sequel to Delavigne, in two different versions. In the first Ducis is altered and enlarged into the complete romantic; in the others, Delavigne and Séjour, enjoying the new freedom, developed the royal assassin motive and exploited the melodramatic episodes in the two historical plays. 'The celebrated' Shakespeare's responsibility for all of them was small, his credit from them even less. His reputation as a man, too, continued to suffer from repeated performances of Monsieur Duval's quasi-blasphemous *Shakespeare enamorado*. This was not withdrawn till the middle of the century, and then only to be replaced in 1852 by *El Sueño de una noche de verano*—'A Midsummer Night's Dream'—not Shakespeare's play but a comic opera from France which adds lèse-majesté to blasphemy by presenting a drunken Shakespeare as Queen Elizabeth's lover.⁷ Fortunate are those who only know this atrocity from the music of Ambroise Thomas.

Fifteen years later Spain attempted to make amends for a French slander. Manuel Tamayo y Baus, a dramatist whose plays show marked Shakespearian influences, introduced Shakespeare, as author playing a noble role, as well as Yorick, in *Un Drama Nuevo*, first performed in 1867. *Un Drama Nuevo* is an excellent example of a play within a play, after the *Hamlet* pattern. It has been performed in many lands, and still holds the boards in Spain. Shakespeare idolatry in English-speaking countries prevented it from being well received, till managers hit on the expedient of substituting another contemporary dramatist, Thomas Heywood, for Shakespeare.

The public's emphatic rejection of García de Villalta's

Macbeth had altogether discouraged Spanish theatre-managers and actors, and as a result the real Shakespeare was not staged till recent times, although worthy translations were not wanting, as we shall see shortly. Instead, from the middle of the nineteenth century, hampered by the Second Carlist War, the old and faded adaptations were gradually being succeeded by bright new ones adapted to the changing theatrical tastes of the times, but Shakespeare was well disguised, and the range was limited to *Othello*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *Hamlet*, and *Macbeth*, with the historical plays, too, based on *King John* and *King Richard III*, lingering on in the provinces. Only at the very end of the century was the scenic value of *Antony and Cleopatra* discovered, and the possibilities of *The Taming of the Shrew* developed in two exaggerated farces.

Nor need we be surprised at the constant 'improvements' on Shakespeare plays in Spain when we remember the fantastic changes and additions which dramatists like Davenant and Dryden thought necessary to make the plays acceptable to seventeenth-century audiences in England, or Garrick's alteration of the *Hamlet* ending to please Voltaire.

Shakespeare, like other dramatists, was meant to be acted. But Spaniards must have gained a very one-sided idea of his genius from the plays which, as we have seen, were offered them on the stage. Fortunately, a dramatist does not depend for his audience on spectators alone. From about the middle of the nineteenth century the interest shifts to the readers, to the writers who educated Spanish taste, and the conscientious translators who worked without any thought of performing rights.

In 1832 political exiles were allowed to return to Spain. Among those who came back from England were poets and dramatists of repute who knew Shakespeare intimately as the author of tragedies, histories, and comedies. Their own works were strongly influenced by him. They led the way with unprejudiced and appreciative criticism. When the next generation accepted realism as well as ultra-romanticism, most of the former objections to Shakespeare's art disappeared: his disregard of the unities, his mixture of prose and verse, of the tragic and the comic, of the sublime and the ridiculous. If not the 'ridiculus mus' of *Hamlet* which annoyed Moratín, at least the grave-digging scene could be praised instead of condemned. By the middle of the last quarter of the century, responsible Shakespeare criticism in Spain was as well informed and well balanced as elsewhere.

But our main interest here is not with writers who were educating Spanish literary taste, but with the opportunities which readers had of forming their own opinions by reading Shakespeare in reasonably faithful translations. Those translations soon outnumbered and outclassed the falsified arrangements represented on the stage. Yet the impetus came through the stage, although, once again, indirectly and from without, this time from Italy.

From the end of the first quarter of the nineteenth century Italian operas by Rossini, Bellini, Verdi, and others, had helped to popularize Shakespearian themes in Spain. In 1857 Italian companies began invading the Spanish stage with their repertoires of Shakespeare plays in reasonably good Italian translations. The language presented no great difficulty to Spaniards, and artists of international fame, from La Ristori and Ernesto Rossi to Ermete Novelli and La Duse, revealed to them a Shakespeare they could not suspect from the travesties which were all their own stage-managers and star actors had screwed up their timidity to offer their audiences since 1838. The growing success and repeated visits of the Italians show that if Spanish managers lost money on Shakespeare productions, the fault lay in themselves and in their stars.

It was the Italians who, besides representing *Hamlet*, *Othello*, *Macbeth*, and *Romeo and Juliet*, introduced *Antony and Cleopatra*, *King Lear*, *The Merchant of Venice*, and *The Taming of the Shrew* to Spanish audiences in the last years of the nineteenth century. More important was the indirect benefit their performances brought to Spanish readers. Their success in Barcelona, where Italian is easily understood, induced Francisco José Orellana, editor of the *Teatro selecto antiguo y moderno, nacional y extranjero*, begun by the Barcelona firm of Salvador Manero in 1866, to include six Shakespeare plays in the fourth volume in 1868. Two years later another Barcelona publisher, Francisco Nacente, incorporated these six plays, and added twenty-seven others, in *Los Grandes Dramas de Shakespeare*, 'the first Spanish version, by renowned men of letters'. When the second volume came out in 1871, Spanish readers had all Shakespeare's plays available in prose translations, except *The First Part of King Henry VI*, *The Winter's Tale*, and *Titus Andronicus*. Political and economic difficulties preceding the outbreak of the Second Carlist War no doubt prevented the completion, as it delayed the success, of the venture; but after the war ended in 1876, the volumes were more than once reprinted. *Hamlet* is represented in both collections by

Moratin's translation, with his adverse critical notes. For the other plays the 'renowned men of letters' unfortunately translated from current French versions, Nacente himself being responsible for more than half the new work in the second collection.

These second-hand prose translations stimulated—one might almost hazard goaded—two scholarly enthusiasts, Jaime Clark and Guillermo Macpherson, to supplant them by their own translations, made direct from the English and in prose and verse, following the originals;—from the English, for James Clark and William Macpherson would naturally translate from their native language,⁸ and in verse, for no one whose native language was English could help wishing to convey to his Spanish readers, as best he might, something of the magical music of Shakespeare's verse.

James Clark went to Spain as a young man in 1864. Less than ten years later, while Spaniards were occupied with the Second Carlist War, he was bringing out his Shakespeare translations. Five volumes had been published, containing three tragedies and seven comedies, when his work was brought to an end, with the war still raging, by his untimely death in 1875, at the early age of thirty-one.

William Macpherson was already engaged in commerce at Cadiz when the young James Clark reached Spain. He held various temporary posts in the consular service at Cadiz and Seville between 1865 and 1877; was appointed H.M. vice-consul at Madrid in 1878, consul there in 1885, consul for Catalonia with residence at Barcelona in 1890, and retired on pension in 1894. Most of his adult life was therefore spent in Spain, and he knew the country, the language, and the people well. Synchronizing with James Clark, he printed his first Shakespeare translation, *Hamlet*, at Cadiz in 1873. By the time he died at the end of the century, he had made translations of twenty-three of Shakespeare's plays.⁹ They were chosen to represent Shakespeare in the standard *Biblioteca Clásica*, where they fill eight volumes, first published between 1885 and 1897, and often reissued.

Clark's unfinished *Obras de Shakespeare* was sponsored by Juan Valera, the famous diplomat and novelist, a fastidious stylist, and a most distinguished representative of the school which refuses to 'idolatrize' Shakespeare. He tends to praise the translator for his 'immense service' to Spaniards, somewhat to the detriment of the dramatist, whom he patriotically rates 'below Cervantes, Lope de Vega, and perhaps Tirso de Molina'. Macpherson's

more complete collection was introduced in the *Biblioteca Clásica* by the celebrated mathematician, philologist, and statesman, Eduardo Benot, who describes the translations as 'magnificent'. Between them, Clark and Macpherson gave Spain two-thirds of Shakespeare's dramatic production, twenty-five plays in all, in acceptable translations in prose and verse as they were written. It is gratifying to think that these two foreigners did what no Spaniard has yet done, and it is disappointing to find that the *Dictionary of National Biography* knows nothing of either of them, or of the 'immense service', to use Valera's words, which a young amateur and a well-trying civil servant did for Spain and for Shakespeare in Spain.

Both Clark and Macpherson naturally have their Spanish critics, though the critics are characteristically lenient towards two foreigners. Clark, obviously with greater poetical talent, is charged with amplifying in translation; Macpherson, hard and cold, is blamed for curtailing and transposing. The strangest and most illuminating criticism comes from Sr. Par, who attributes the shortcomings of both to their 'absurd mistake' of translating in verse. And here I quarrel with my old friend, and with others who share his view and translate in prose, apparently failing to recognize that Shakespeare is both dramatist and poet, and treating him as a sort of psychologist's or psychiatrist's case-book. To offer Shakespeare in prose seems to me like submitting a photograph as a perfect substitute for a painting, say, by Turner.

Sr. Par contrasts Clark and Macpherson with the Marqués de Dos Hermanos, a contemporary of the former, and an enthusiastic collector and ardent admirer of Shakespeare, the very antithesis of the critical Juan Valera. The Marqués, besides trying to share his enthusiasm with his countrymen in other laudable ways, embarked in 1869 on a task of translation, as Clark did a little later; but being equally short-lived, he only printed three plays (*The Merchant of Venice*, *Othello*, and *Romeo and Juliet*), and the *Poems* and *Sonnets*, by 1877. Unlike Clark, he made the 'absurd mistake' of translating entirely in prose, even the *Poems* and *Sonnets*. To me, a prose *Venus and Adonis*, for instance, is just one more version of a famous classical myth. The difficulties of translating English verse into Spanish verse are admittedly very great; but they are no excuse for not making the attempt. How justified the attempt may be is proved by the beautiful verse translation of *Venus and Adonis* published three years ago in Buenos Aires by Mariano de Vedia y Mitre, grandson of the former president of Argentina, General Bartolomé Mitre.

sides of the Pyrenees at the western end, in a couple of sentences. A Basque version of *Macbeth*¹¹ was printed in 1926 and acted with success, and there are reports of fragments of at least one other play printed in reviews. The case of Catalan, spoken in Spain's north-eastern provinces, and trespassing on France, is different. Sir Sidney Lee, in his authoritative life of Shakespeare, devotes two sentences to Shakespeare in Catalonia. They contain what is known in legal circles as the truth, the half truth, and anything but the truth. Shakespeare in Catalonia is a bigger and more interesting subject than was dreamt of in Sir Sidney Lee's philosophy. It would have been unfair to my main theme to condense it merely to do scant justice to a secondary theme in a kind of appendix. Shakespeare in Catalonia must await another occasion. Here I need only say that English verse falls more easily into Catalan than into the more sonorous and polysyllabic Spanish. Hence, perhaps, Catalan is ahead of Spanish in verse translations of Shakespeare—a generation ahead as far as the poems are concerned. And now one of Catalonia's most popular poets, Josep Maria de Sagarra, has translated all the plays, in prose and verse, following the originals, and five sumptuous and expensive volumes, as I know to my cost, have already appeared, containing more than half the plays.

Here is a challenge to the rest of Spain. And the challenge has been taken up, whether knowingly or not it would be hazardous to say, in a matter in which accident seems to delight to play a part. Last year some scenes were broadcast, in the B.B.C.'s Third and South American programmes, from a new translation of *Hamlet* by Sr. Madariaga. The translation, prose for prose and verse for verse, is not yet published, but judging from broadcast extracts, it should be able to restore Shakespeare's prestige on the Spanish stage, which, like our own, is losing its fear of plays in verse, even rhyming verse, which Sr. Madariaga uses in imitation of a Spanish play of Shakespeare's period.

Sr. Madariaga has long dwelt among us. He has a perfect command of English and Spanish, and an enviable distinction of style in prose and verse in both languages which could not be expected in his old-time rivals James Clark and William Macpherson. To him I look for the beginnings of my ideal translation of Shakespeare: the beginnings, in two senses. For what is one play among so many? And then, I cannot help recalling the question of the final translation of Homer, which I mentioned in 1947 in connexion with the English translations of *Don Quixote*. As Andrew Lang pointed out, in defence of a prose

translation of Homer: 'the taste and the literary habits of each age demand different qualities in poetry', and we should have heard less about the proper method of translating Homer if critics had recognized that 'of Homer there can be no final translation'. And as with Homer, so with Cervantes and Shakespeare, and any other consummate artist.

And with that suggestion of endless beginnings, I bring my own short story to an end.

NOTES

1. Sr. Astrana Marín is searching not only the Valladolid records, but also those of the neighbouring Archivo de Simancas, which contains the official correspondence of the Duque de Frías, the Conde de Villamediana, and the Conde de Gondomar, all of whom had been on missions to England in Shakespeare's time.

F. W. Cosens, the translator of two Spanish plays on a Shakespearian theme, Lope de Vega's *Castelvines y Monteses* and Francisco de Rojas Zorrilla's *Los Bandos de Verona*, suggested in the *Athenaeum* in 1865 the formation of a society (subscription one guinea) to search out Shakespeare material in public and private libraries in Spain. The project was supported by J. O. Halliwell and J. Payne Collier, but came to nothing.

The work of the proposed society is now being carried out by Sr. Astrana Marín.

2. My own attitude to the Gayangos story of the First Folio is influenced by the extreme eagerness of my friends and the booksellers in Spain to help me consolidate my collection of Shakespeare's works in Spanish and Catalan. The principal second-hand bookseller in Barcelona was particularly keen to help. While I was in his shop with two Spanish literary friends, some years ago, he pointed vaguely to rows of brown-paper parcels which crowded the upper shelves of his bookcases, and assured me that he had 'somewhere there' the original manuscript of *Hamlet*, and he advised me to set about putting the British Empire in pawn, against the day when he should find it. I was spared the necessity of realizing a diminishing asset by the premature death of the bookseller not long afterwards.

I suspect a similar enthusiasm in the youthful Gayangos.

3. Such is the account given by Sr. Alfonso Par (*Shakespeare en la literatura española*, 1935, vol. i, pp. 49-50) and by Sr. Astrana Marín, *Vida inmortal de William Shakespeare*, 1941, p. 344 note). Both drew their information from an article by J. Menéndez Ormaza entitled 'Relación del trujumán. Comparación verificada por el doctor Kaestner entre la censura de la Dictadura y la de la Inquisición española', published in *Los Lunes de El Imparcial*, 9 Feb. 1930. The details about the Shakespeare Folio are given in a supposed interview with Dr. Otto Kaestner.

According to Sr. Par, Otto Kaestner succeeded in acquiring the volume in 1930 from the English College in Valladolid, and he regrets that his friends were unable, despite all their efforts, 'to put him in touch with the said Englishman, or German, or whatever he was', so that he might

personally examine the Folio. But the purchaser had got away from Spain, leaving no trace, with the volume under his arm, and 'Heaven knows where it has gone, duly translated into good doubloons'.

Sr. Par misquotes Sr. Menéndez Ormaza, according to whom Dr. Kaestner is reported to have said that in a recent visit to Valladolid he was lucky enough to come across the remains of the Library of the English College there. But there is no mention of his having acquired the Shakespeare volume. Further, Sr. Par failed to realize the facetious setting of the reported visit to Valladolid, and that 'Dr. Otto Kaestner' is neither English, nor German, nor anything else than a figment of Sr. Menéndez Ormaza's brain.

The Shakespeare Folio at least is real. It is now in the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington, D.C., and is no. 7 in the Library's collection of Second Folios. By the courtesy of Dr. James G. McManaway of the Folger Library I am able to give the following details concerning it.

On a preliminary leaf is the note of ownership, 'Collegii Sancti Albani Anglorum Vallisoleti', and on the title-page is the further note: 'Opus auctoritate Sancti Officij permissum et expurgatum per Guilielmum San-chæum e Soc^{te} Jesu.' The censor was by no means as lenient as Sr. Menéndez Ormaza makes out. The whole of *Measure for Measure* has been cut away. Words, phrases, and whole passages are cancelled heavily in ink in *Love's Labour's Lost*, *Much Ado About Nothing*, *The Tempest*, *The Merchant of Venice*, *As You Like It*, *All's Well that Ends Well*, *King John*, *King Henry IV*, Pt. I, *King Henry VI*, Pts. I, II, *King Henry VIII*, *Troilus and Cressida*, *Hamlet*, and *King Lear*. But he has written 'good' opposite *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, *The Comedy of Errors*, *Much Ado About Nothing*, and *The Merchant of Venice*, while opposite *Cymbeline* is written 'rare'.

Who is the censor who marked these plays in English? Not 'the Jesuit Guillén Sánchez, an early Spanish annotator of Shakespeare', who is as insubstantial as 'Dr. Otto Kaestner', but an English Jesuit, William Sankey. According to the *Registers of the English College at Valladolid, 1589-1862*, edited by Canon Edwin Henson, London, 1930 (Publications of the Catholic Record Society, vol. 30), William Sankey came to the College from Flanders in Jan. 1641 (p. xxviii). And according to *The English College at Madrid, 1611-1767*, edited by Canon Edwin Henson, London, 1929 (Publications of the Catholic Record Society, 1929) he was Rector of St. George's College, Madrid, 1651-62 (p. ix).

4. Sr. Alfonso Par, op. cit., vol. i, pp. 62-3, quotes the relevant passage from Sr. Paz y Melia's description of item 1286 in the *Catálogo abreviado de papeles de Inquisición*, which began to be published as a supplement to the *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos* in 1914, and which related to manuscripts then existing in the Biblioteca Nacional. In a note he laments that though he has at various times asked to see the manuscript, and has searched for it in all the rooms of the Library, it has not turned up, and he fears it must be stolen or mislaid.

But the papers of the Inquisition are now all collected together in the Archivo Histórico Nacional, and in 1947 a second edition by Ramón Paz of the *Catálogo abreviado* was published by the Patronato del Archivo under the title *Papeles de Inquisición, Catálogo y Extractos*, a more suitable title for Sr. Paz y Melia's work. Item 1286 reads the same in both catalogues:

'Lista de varias obras extranjeras, entre ellas las de Shakespeare, en que el Censor no tiene nada que reparar, excepto la sospecha de ser Shakespeare hereje, por decirse en su vida que nació en Stratford, una de las provincias infectadas por la herejía en Inglaterra. 1742.'

From the description it seems unlikely that the document itself would give any further useful information about Shakespeare.

5. Among the very few exceptions was José Cadalso (1741-82), author of an entertaining satire on the pedantic pseudo-scholarship of his time, *Los Eruditos a la Violeta*—'Butterfly Scholars'. He had travelled in England and knew English well. Despite his early education in Paris, he is original and just in his appreciations of Shakespeare and other English writers. It was a poor reward that he lost his life at the siege of Gibraltar.
6. I translate from the Spanish, which is padded to two lines longer than the French original:

J'ai fait ce que j'ai dû;
Son amour est puni; le crime est confondu.
Je n'aurais jamais cru qu'avec tant de jeunesse
On eût pu jusque-là porter la hardiesse.
C'est l'effet du climat.

7. It is only right that the authors should be pilloried here. The French text is by Joseph Bernard Rosier and Adolphe de Leuven (i.e. Adolphe de Ribbing). The Spanish version is by Patricio de la Escosura, whose text was set to music by Joaquín Romualdo Gaztambide; but the music of Ambroise Thomas was also sometimes used in Spain.
8. According to Sr. Juliá Martínez (*Shakespeare en España*, p. 73) Clark was born in Naples in 1844, and was trained as an engineer; but while in his teens he changed over to literature. I have assumed that he was an Englishman: the first volume of his *Obras de Shakespeare* has on a printed leaf: 'To Joseph Ruston this translation is dedicated in token of the gratitude, esteem, and affection of his nephew James Clark.' Five volumes of the *Obras* appeared, all undated, during the early 'seventies. The contents are: *Othello*, *Mucho ruido para nada*; *Romeo y Julieta*, *Como gustéis*; *El Mercader de Venecia*, *Medida por Medida*; *La Tempestad*, *La Noche de Reyes*; *Hamlet*, *Las Alegres Comadres de Windsor*.
- Macpherson was born in Gibraltar in 1824 and died in Madrid in 1898; but the bearer of such a name would claim Scottish nationality wherever he was born.
9. It is easier to give the names of the plays he did not translate. These are *King Richard II*, *King Henry V*, *King Henry VI*, *Pts. 1-3*, *King Henry VIII*, *Pericles*, *Titus Andronicus*, *All's Well that Ends Well*, *The Comedy of Errors*, *Love's Labour's Lost*, *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, and two comedies which had already been translated by James Clark: *Much Ado About Nothing*, and *Twelfth Night*.
10. The time limit imposed by a public lecture, and the need to avoid wearying an English audience with a succession of foreign names, excuses me from detailing the growing number of Shakespeare translations in modern times. I have only been able to record a few of the more significant items.

I am unable to speak from personal knowledge of the Shakespeare

productions in Madrid sponsored by Cayetano Luca de Tena in the war and post-war periods, the latest being the *Hamlet* of José María Pemán. This is advertised as a *versión libre en verso*, as was to be expected from a dramatist who is also a poet.

11. *Ifritza*. Shakespeare'n Macbeth'en gayean, iru egintza ta egintza-aufean, Toribio Alzaga'k euskeratutako antzefkia. Donostia, 1926. (*Ambition*. A drama on the theme of Shakespeare's *Macbeth*, in three acts and a prologue, translated into Basque by Toribio Alzaga. San Sebastián, 1926.)

WULFSTAN'S PROSE

By ANGUS McINTOSH

Read 11 May 1949

WHEN the British Academy honoured me with an invitation to deliver this lecture, I thought at first of speaking about the alliterative measure. It was on the poetry written in the various forms of this measure that Sir Israel Gollancz worked for the greater part of his life, to the advantage of all who have come after him, and it would have been a fitting act of commemoration to consider something with which he was so nearly concerned. But the alliterative measure, though by no means completely understood, has received much attention, and I do not feel that it would be easy to say something new about it, at least of a kind which lends itself to presentation in a lecture. On the other hand, less work has been done on those early English prose writings which have affinities with the alliterative verse, and it so happens that the writings of Wulfstan provide a valuable focal point for any study of this kind. Here, then, is a subject not too far removed from that which I had at first contemplated. It will allow me, I hope, to avoid trespassing too blatantly on the chosen territory of those who are best qualified to speak about Wulfstan, and at the same time to consider some problems about the art of writing in late Old English times which have a wide interest and a considerable importance.

I do not wish to suggest that Wulfstan has been entirely neglected from this point of view; his style has been examined by all those interested in establishing the canon of his works, his fondness for certain words and turns of phrase has been noted, and his avoidance of others. So also his habitual use of rhyming and alliterative phrases, and more broadly, certain general characteristics of his style closely connected with what he chose to say, his exhortatory and prescriptive manner, his avoidance of the straight narrative technique which Ælfric was so fond of, and so forth. Professor Dorothy Bethurum has, I think, written more fully and interestingly on these matters than anyone else, but a study of the literature on Wulfstan problems will show that many others have given serious attention to such things.¹ Yet most of what has been written merely touches the edge of the rhythmical problem, just as it would more obviously if said of *Beowulf*, and it is my purpose here to attempt a more rigid analysis of his rhythmical habits and to show what importance

they have not only for Wulfstan scholars but for those interested more generally in the practice of prose and verse in Old and Middle English.

I

I shall begin by attempting to distinguish certain different ways of writing in the Old English period, different ways, that is, from the rhythmical point of view. There is not just verse on the one hand, like *Andreas*, the *Metres of Boethius* or *Maldon*, and prose on the other, such as the works of Alfred or Ælfric or the charters or Byrhtferþ's *Manual*. There are in the late Old English period at least five clearly separable stylistic genres, between which there are important and significant rhythmical distinctions. How many of these five are 'verse' and how many are 'prose' is a terminological problem which I should prefer to avoid. I am anxious merely to distinguish types, not to provide them all with an exactly suitable label, and it might be proper to add two warnings. First, that if I distinguish five types it must not be assumed that there are no more; secondly, that though these types are distinguishable, it is possible to find texts in which characteristics of more than one type are found, where there is, in other words, a mixing. But except in obvious pastiches, such as we may find in some of the homilies in Napier's collection, these are not very numerous; a man normally chose his medium and stuck to it throughout a whole piece of writing.

The first of these five types is what I shall call the 'classical' Old English verse, the verse which obeys the rules of Sievers or Heusler or Pope according to which school of thought you belong to, the verse which descends from early times and yet is still used at the beginning of the twelfth century in the *Description of Durham* much as it was in Cædmon's *Hymn* over four centuries before. One may split this kind of verse on metrical grounds into more than one sub-type, as Heusler does, but in all its forms it is clearly distinct from any of the other four types I shall proceed to describe.

The second is the late 'debased' Old English verse, though I reserve the term for a rather less miscellaneous rag-bag than some who have used it. The kind of verse I have in mind has not survived in any quantity, but there are two notable examples of it in the *Chronicle*. The first is the poem on the death of Eadgar in manuscripts D and E under the year 975, beginning

Her Eadgar gefor	Angla reccend
Westseaxena wine	7 Myrcna mundbora.

The second is the poem about Alfred and Godwine found in manuscript C (and less perfectly in D) under the year 1036.² The surviving specimens are not numerous, but the evidence of Early Middle English suggests that this kind of verse was well established towards the end of the Old English period. It has these characteristics. First, that its half-lines are genuinely half lines, being constructed as parts of a whole line the two components of which are welded together. This welding is most commonly achieved by alliteration, but sometimes by end-rhyme instead; sometimes by the use of both. Alliteration, we may note, is not debarred from falling on the last stressed syllable of the line. Secondly, the half-lines of this kind of verse frequently do not conform to the patterns which were obligatory in the classical verse; this is the main ground for the term 'debased' though some would argue that it implies, and *wrongly* implies, that the second kind descends from the first. This is a problem which need not concern us here, though I would note that there is no evidence for the existence of 'debased' verse of this sort except in the latter part of the Old English period. I would also remind you that two years ago, on this same occasion, Professor Wrenn suggested that Cædmon's great achievement was simply to put the popular measure of the time to a new religious use; in other words the popular measure that he found ready to hand was rhythmically the measure used in his *Hymn* or in Bede's *Death Song*.³

The third type is the style used by Ælfric in his *Lives of Saints*; it is completely distinct rhythmically from his normal everyday prose, and it is also distinct from either of the two styles hitherto mentioned.⁴ It resembles them in that it is made up of whole lines, composed of pairs of half-lines joined by alliteration. But the alliteration differs from that of the classical verse in several particulars. It can fall on the last stressed syllable of the line; it is not associated so strictly with the syllables bearing the main stress; and there are certain new conventional alliterations of sounds which are not phonetically identical with which I propose to deal in another place. We may note also that in contrast with most of the classical verse, the main sense pauses are very rarely allowed to fall in the middle of the whole line. To all this might be added that 'poetical' words are seldom used; the vocabulary is similar to Ælfric's normal prose vocabulary. The *Life of St. Oswald* may be verse, it is hardly poetry.⁵ From the metrical point of view, this style resembles that of the debased verse in the failure of its half-lines to fit the accepted classical

patterns. But it differs from it in the precise form of the patterns which it does use, and also in using end-rhyme as an alternative or supplement to alliteration only very rarely.

My fourth type is the style used by Wulfstan, with which I shall deal later, my fifth that of ordinary prose. This last is a convenient label for all Old English prose which uses no rhythmical devices comparable to those I have already discussed; the prose of Alfred or that of the greater part of the *Chronicle* will serve as examples. If I also include here such prose as that of most of the *Catholic Homilies*, it is not without being aware that rhythmically as well as in other ways this has a sophistication not found in my other examples. We may subdivide 'ordinary' prose as we might have subdivided the classical verse, but all varieties of it will still be distinguishable without difficulty from a text written in any of the other four styles.

The first question we might ask, since all these five types were in use at the same time, say in the year 1000, is whether they were all generally current. About the first, the classical verse, we may have certain doubts; perhaps in the south it was fast going out of use, for there is something ominous about the way it was being brought together into definitive collections at this very time, often, as it would appear, from manuscripts probably a century older. It may be that it survived only in the north and Midlands to any extent in this period. We may note, however, as a curious fact that there are writings relating to the reign of Eadgar which provide examples of all five styles. There are the two poems in classical verse in manuscripts A, B, and C of the *Chronicle* for the years 973 and 975. Then there is the poem in debased verse in manuscripts D and E under 975. Ælfric produces three panegyrics in the third style in the *Epilogue to the Heptateuch*, in the *Life of St. Swiðun*, and in the *Life of St. Æðelðryð*. In the fourth style we have the two *Chronicle* poems by Wulfstan about the accession and the death of Eadgar.⁶ Further references to him in the ordinary prose of the *Chronicle* need not be considered here.

The way in which examples of classical and debased verse are distributed among the various manuscripts of the *Chronicle* is perhaps of some significance. A and B preserve classical verse only. C has all the classical poems that A and B have and one other, and in addition it has one example of debased verse (*sub anno* 1036). D has both kinds, and E is remarkable in recording no poems at all in classical verse. I am not competent to discuss the possible implications of this distribution, but I would remark

that, while it suggests that the different styles may have been fashionable in different areas, it also shows that classical verse was still composed in the south.

As to the debased verse of the kind I have discussed, I think it probable that it first began to be used in the tenth century, and had become common during the eleventh. There are prosodic features in the *Bestiary*, in Lazamon's *Brut*, in the *Proverbs of Alfred*, and in the *Worcester Fragments* which suggest a considerable debt to it; if so, we must conclude that the debased verse came in the end to be familiar over at least a large part of the Midland area. About the general currency of type three, the style of the *Lives of Saints*, I have serious doubts. If Ælfric had a model which he was following closely, it clearly differed, as did his own medium, from both the debased measure (as I have defined it) and from the classical. But one must not rule out the possibility of his having been influenced by some other form of debased verse in which, for example, end-rhyme was not used. And, in fact, embedded in the prose of the Vercelli Homilies and elsewhere there are things of this sort with which Ælfric must have been familiar.⁷ But even these are not models which he simply copied, for I know of nothing written before his time which has all the rhythmical and stylistic characteristics of the *Lives of Saints*. There is, indeed, one document which must be mentioned here, because its ostensible date is 970 and because it is written in a manner which I cannot distinguish from that of Ælfric. This is the English version of the charter granted in that year by Eadgar to Ely. But I think there are other good grounds for believing that Ælfric himself was the author, so that this document may well not be an exception after all.⁸

The probability is that Ælfric was not slavishly following any existing pattern. Cædmon, it has been suggested, took over the old music for a new purpose; Ælfric may have deliberately worked out a less fettering medium for the enormous task he envisaged. He was to undertake an immense amount of narrative and expository writing, and was at many points seriously preoccupied with the problem of faithfully recording a Latin original. So even if he knew the traditions of classical verse, there was good reason for his not following them. As for the contemporary debased verse, there is no evidence to suggest that it was highly esteemed or even as yet in common use, and it is not strange that, while perhaps familiar with such deviations from the classical verse as were known at the time, he chose to work out for himself something not identical with any of them.

But I feel it is not desirable to say more about the complex problem of the genesis of Ælfric's alliterative writing till the rhythmical character of his first attempts in this style (for example, occasionally in the *Catholic Homilies*) has been properly investigated. Already in the *Lives of Saints* he has evolved a highly developed system which does not cramp him in his task, and which, if one takes into account its general 'feel' as well as details of technical procedure, is hardly to be paralleled outside of his own work. I do not question that, like Wulfstan, he had a rhythmical influence on his successors, but I doubt whether any of them by accident or design acquired his characteristics so completely that what they wrote cannot be distinguished from what he wrote.⁹

II

This brings us to the prose generally acknowledged to be by Wulfstan, and my reasons for giving it, along with certain other things, the honour of a separate group. What features has it which entitle it to this? If I begin by asserting that Wulfstan's prose consists of a continuous series of two-stress phrases related in structure to the classical half-line, and severely restricted in somewhat the same fashion to certain rhythmical patterns, I shall run the risk of having concocted some fabulous abstraction. So having stated what I believe to be the fact, I should like to present some of the grounds on which what I say is based. In the beginning, my views about the structure of his prose formed themselves simply as a result of reading it aloud, when again and again his sentences (to my ear) divided themselves in this way. Let me try to give two examples of what I mean, the first from a fairly restrained quiet passage at the end of Napier i, the other from a more impassioned part of the *Sermo ad Anglos*:¹⁰

- Ac þá beoð adwéalde
and þurh déofol beswícene
þe þæs ne gelyfað
ac wénað þæt se mán
5 scyle déadlice swýltan
éfnē swa nýten
and sýþþan ne þóljan
ne ýrmðe ne mýrhðe
ne ænig léan hábban
10 þæs ðe he wórhte
on lífes fæce
þa hwíle þe he méhte

- Ac sóþ is þæt ic sécge
 of éorþan gewúrdan
 15 ærest gewórhte
 þá ðe we sýlfe
 éalle of cóman
 and to éorþan we scýlan
 éalle gewéorþan
 20 and sýþþan hábban
 swa éce wíte
 áa butan énde
 swa éce blisse
 swa hwáþer we on life
 25 æror geearnodon
 Gód ure hélpe
 Amen.

Allowing for shortcomings in my pronunciation of individual sounds, and for inevitable uncertainties about tempo, intonation, and the relative weighting of main stress and various kinds of subsidiary stress, this appears to me to be the way Wulfstan's homilies were intended to be delivered. The only special point necessary for such delivery is a recognition of the existence of a continuous chain of phrases of certain permitted rhythmical patterns each containing two main stresses, no more no less.

I confess that it was only later that I turned to the literature on the subject to see what justification there might be for such an interpretation, and found that my views did not differ radically from those propounded by Einenkel sixty-four years ago in the short note in *Anglia* to which he gave the title 'Der Sermo Lupi ein Gedicht'.¹¹ In the last fifty years little attention has been given to what he said, and his note is vitiated by a number of faults which partly account for this. There is to begin with the rather glib use of the word 'Gedicht,' though one may note that such a description has been accepted implicitly for two compositions of Wulfstan, the *Chronicle* poems of 959 and 975, which do not differ in rhythmical character from the text we are discussing nor exceed it in poetic fire. With this there is the somewhat alarming appearance of Einenkel's printing; the excerpt from the *Sermo* is given a separate line for each phrase, and it must be confessed that it looks more like *Hudibras* or *The Lay of the Last Minstrel* than an Old English sermon. Besides, some of his line divisions, though only a few, are demonstrably false. He makes other errors; he believes in the old theory that each half-line of classical verse has four stresses, and makes the same assumption for the rhythmical phrases of the *Sermo*. He

also insists on attempting to explain each unit of the text as an example of a normal classical half-line. He is forced to admit exceptions, but he fails to see the significance of this, that it means in fact that the rules are very different; for not only are some of the classical 'types' absent, but the relative frequency of some of the others bears no relation to that in the classical verse. But perhaps the most serious fault is the absence of any convincing arguments justifying the cutting up of what most regard as prose into a succession of short units of the kind I have described.

I will not pursue the discussion of any of these shortcomings except the last. What in fact is the justification for successively pulling a few consecutive words out of a continuous bit of writing in order to build up a series of what I shall from time to time refer to as two-stress phrases? Apart from the rhythmical satisfaction which I believe comes from the consistent application of this procedure, its first and most obvious justification is that these phrases are always *small syntactic units*. They are not mere metrical motifs torn from the text by wilfully or arbitrarily cutting between two adjacent elements in a sentence which have an intimate syntactic connexion, for example, preposition and noun, or pronoun and verb. Some phrases are more obviously separable than others, as is true of half-lines in the classical verse, but on the whole Wulfstan's prose is easier to split up on the basis of natural speech-pauses which delimit these small syntactic units, than the verse is, and this is saying a good deal. A closely related justification is that the whole of a text can be divided in this way; it is not that embarrassing and untidy islands of one-stress or three-stress phrases are left isolated after we have put in our thumbs and pulled out the more obvious two-stress plums. This at least was clearly seen by Einkenkel and carried out with only minor errors.

I have said that the whole of the text *can* be divided in this way, but to this the objection could be made that there may be other equally acceptable ways of splitting it up, that it is possible but arbitrary. Thus it could be argued that given a sentence with six syllables bearing main stress, you may often divide it equally well into two three-stress or three two-stress groups.¹² But this is not possible as often as one might believe, and if due attention is given to stresses and pauses as legitimately required by the sense, it will be found that most such sentences will divide naturally in only one of these two ways. Wulfstan's sentences divide most happily and easily into phrases of two

stresses and, as I hope to show, it is clear that he intended them to divide in this way.

I believe that it has always been a common and natural thing for this to happen rather often in ordinary spoken English. There is some peculiar psycho-physical attraction in the two-stress phrase which accounts if not for the origin at least for the persistence of the half-line of Old English poetry. It is seen in most of the titles of modern books, which when pronounced in isolation, have two stresses: *Gone with the Wind*, *Three Men in a Boat*, *The Making of English*, *Wulfstan's Prose*.¹³ If books have longer titles, they often readily divide into a pair of two-stress phrases: *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, *The Growth and Structure of the English Language*. This is not to say that the three-stress phrase has no part in our lives, but both it and that with one stress are less used than the two-stress. On the other hand, a good prose-writer usually avoids too excessive a use of two-stress phrases, though this is not always true of public speakers and I know a canon who employs them almost exclusively in his sermons.

I believe that the half-line of Old English classical verse is a highly stylized embodiment of this predilection, with certain common and rhythmically pleasing patterns selected as the only forms acceptable for verse. Wulfstan, though he made use of a rather different set of patterns, nevertheless chose to compose and orate in a succession of rhythmically rich variations on the basic two-stress theme. A simple analysis of Wulfstan's sentence structure is sufficient to show that he has systematized this procedure, but there are other pieces of evidence. The alliterative and rhyming words which are so characteristic of his work regularly form themselves into a two-stress phrase or into a succession of them. The pattern is illustrated by this short passage:

ac wæs here and hunger
 stric and steorfa
 orfwealm and uncoðu
 hol and hete. . .

This is the way the words are used—in pairs, the two components of which form the backbone of a two-stress phrase; what we do not get is an alliterative or rhyming scheme suggesting phrase units with three stresses, as if we were to find

ac wæs here and hunger and hete
 stric and steorfa and stalu.

Furthermore, the common tags that Wulfstan uses have this same rhythmical characteristic; they either form a two-stress phrase

in themselves (for example, *ealles to gelome*) or else they serve to fill out a phrase which would otherwise be too light rhythmically (for example, *georne* in *and beorgan us georne*). All this strongly reinforces what the sentence structure has suggested, and it becomes very difficult to say that such a splitting as Einkenkel made is arbitrary or meaningless or misleading.

There is another more striking and valuable kind of evidence which may be said to clinch the whole matter and this comes from the manuscripts themselves. Here I must beg to be allowed to relapse for a moment into autobiography. I had made my own Hudibrastic transcript of the *Sermo ad Anglos* using the modern printed text of Miss Whitelock's edition. Having discovered that my version agreed in most of its phrase divisions with that of Einkenkel's specimen, I turned finally to the manuscripts to see whether the pointing there gave any support to these divisions. I accordingly added to my transcript the punctuation marks of all the manuscripts. Now each of these has some punctuation though not all have the same amount. And although each supplies marks at places where the others have none, what emerged very clearly from an examination of the contributions of all five manuscripts was that there was almost no clashing; nearly all of the marks when entered into my transcript came at the end of my Hudibrastic lines.¹⁴ In other words it became clear that they were used to delimit the phrases I had already isolated on ordinary rhythmical and syntactic grounds, and they offer as I believe final and convincing proof of the reality of these two-stress units.

This function of pointing reminds one of the similar way in which it is used in the Cædmon Manuscript. It also resembles that found in the *Lives of Saints*, which Skeat preserves in his edition, though he has not always assessed it critically. The thorough study of the function of marks of punctuation in late Old English and early Middle English, together with the evidence it provides about rhythmical matters, would be well worth the labour.¹⁵ In the cases I have mentioned there can be little doubt that the main purpose of the marks was to help readers to enunciate the text in the proper manner. In the manuscripts from which Napier prints his texts this system of pointing is, of course, by no means confined to the genuine Wulfstan homilies. But in the others, even where the prose has strong rhythmical features, the phrase units which are delimited by marks of punctuation have patterns which by mere cold analysis can often be shown to differ from those of Wulfstan.

The textual history of the pointing of the *Sermo* is a problem fascinating in itself. For if the original text was provided with marks of punctuation, one would expect the best manuscripts to reproduce them with reasonable fidelity, while those more remote from the original would each present their own clouded picture of its pointing, clouded because of the chance omission at various intermediate stages of some of the marks and the independent (though usually intelligent) insertion of new marks. I will not claim that it would be possible to construct a *Stammbaum* on the basis of the punctuation alone, but in fact the evidence it supplies does confirm the relationship of the various texts as deduced from much wider and more telling evidence.¹⁶ That it does so is sufficient to indicate that many of the marks in the five manuscripts were in the version from which they all ultimately descend, and it is reasonable to assume that Wulfstan had a hand in their insertion.

Another remarkable piece of evidence concerning Wulfstan's intentions is provided by texts which he rewrote. The most instructive are his refurbishings of Ælfric texts. I will merely state here the fact that this evidence strengthens that which has been given already, and reserve a discussion of Wulfstan's methods in these cases till I have described in more detail some of the rhythmical characteristics of his two-stress phrase-unit.

III

Wulfstan's prose resembles that of my first three types in having this two-stress phrase as its base, but it differs from them all in not building pairs of these into a larger unit welded by alliteration or rhyme. Such alliteration and rhyme as Wulfstan has, and there is much of it, serves instead to join more intimately the two important elements within a single phrase, as in the examples I have already given. There is therefore no equivalent in his writing to the whole line of the classical verse; so if you are going to print him as verse there is much more justification for doing it Hudibrastically than for treating *Beowulf* or the *Lives of Saints* in this way.¹⁷ This, then, is sufficient to distinguish the style of Wulfstan from all the other styles I have mentioned. Can we go farther and find any other features within the phrase-units which will connect them with or distinguish them from the half-line units of the other verse types?

We may note first that in overall length and weight they are much closer to the units of the classical verse than to Ælfric's more rambling half-lines. You can assess this roughly by

counting syllables. The average length of a half-line of *Beowulf* is something just under 5 syllables, and the usual range only between 4 and 6. In the *Sermo ad Anglos* the average length is a little over 6 syllables, and while the normal range is between 5 and 7, there are something like 8 per cent. of phrases with 8, and 4 per cent. with 4 syllables. In the *Life of St. Oswald* the average length is nearly 7 syllables, and half-lines with only 4 are entirely absent. The difference between 6 and 7 syllables may seem trifling, but in itself it makes a profound difference between the rhythmical texture of the writing of Wulfstan and Ælfric. Wulfstan's phrases have a crispness and firmness which is striking and effective, and the contrast with Ælfric will be of some importance when I come to consider precisely what happened when Wulfstan had done his best and worst with the somewhat looser rhythms of the Abbot of Eynsham.

Despite an obvious resemblance between Wulfstan's phrases and the classical half-line, there are certain quite striking and notable differences. In the first place, though I say this with due reserve, length of syllable appears to be of no functional importance. In the second, the phrases are such that it is not desirable to assess them at all on the basis of the five-type system of Sievers, or any other system designed to account for the classical verse. Some types familiar there are absent here; it is difficult for example to find phrases with the precise rhythmic flavour of D and E half-lines.¹⁸ On the other hand, Wulfstan uses other rhythmical patterns which were not allowed in the classical verse at all, but which we cannot but regard as entirely normal and proper in his writing.¹⁹ Two characteristics may be mentioned here, the frequency of what for want of a better word I shall call anacrusis, and the frequency of phrases ending with the motif $/\times\times$. Of patterns which are common to Wulfstan and to the verse, it may be noted that the B type (basically $\times/\times/$) which is found on an average once every 5 half-lines in *Beowulf*, accounts for only about 4 per cent. of Wulfstan's phrases. Type A is the commonest of all in the classical verse; in *Beowulf* nearly 45 per cent. of all half-lines have this form. In Wulfstan, if we allow cases with anacrusis of not more than 2 syllables, a pattern of this kind accounts for no less than about 70 per cent. of the phrases. So much for some of the facts about this remarkable kind of prose. May I, having said as much, return to the second of my two passages and read it again, bringing out as well as I can its rhythmical character, but without distorting the normal flow of the words to achieve this?

I have tried now to establish the reality of the two-stress phrase and to mention some of its characteristics and the differences between it and the half-line of verse proper. I have attempted by reading to show that some understanding of the system enables us to see better how a sermon of Wulfstan was intended to be delivered and what he was doing as he composed. Allow me now to discuss briefly the way he handled Ælfric's rhythmical prose.

It is one of the curiosities of literature, this relationship between Ælfric and Wulfstan, and the finicky technical transformation that Wulfstan makes of the writing of the other. It would be interesting to know whether he was aware of the carefully constructed form he was destroying when he did this, or what Ælfric in turn thought of these episcopal transmutations. There are several notable passages where the process can be examined in detail. I think in particular of Wulfstan's rewriting of Napier viii which is printed as Napier vii,²⁰ of his version of *De falsis deis* (Napier xviii), and his doctoring of Ælfric's second *Pastoral Letter*. He has tampered less severely with this last than with the others, and it is in them that the thorough-going reviser can best be followed at work.

Here is a curious situation in a troubled age; one man produces a special kind of rhythmical writing with a distinct and recognizable texture, then another, heavily burdened with the cares and duties of an enormously responsible position, takes the trouble to dissect all this and reconstruct it according to the rules governing his own rhythmical practice. I do not wish to suggest, of course, that he was merely preoccupied with the metrical transformation. He is almost always concerned primarily with expanding the text, with adding his own material, though he is also careful from time to time to change words or phrases which happen to be alien to his own usage. But whenever he makes expansions or alterations it is in such a way that the prose emerges reshaped into his own rhythmical mode, and many of the minor changes he makes seem to be purely on account of the rhythm.

I cannot easily describe Wulfstan's modifications in detail without putting written material before you, but something can be said. In the first place it may be noticed that whether Wulfstan understood Ælfric's system of joining pairs of half-lines by alliteration or not, he certainly did not regard this procedure as sacrosanct, and felt quite at liberty to interpolate one or more of his own two-stress phrases between any two of Ælfric's half-

lines. A large amount of the expansion is made in this way. But there are other modifications. Sometimes a rather rambling Ælfric half-line is turned by the addition of two or three syllables into two two-stress phrases. Thus in Ælfric (Napier viii, p. 58)²⁰ we have the whole line

Ælc wisdom is of Gode forðam þe God sylf is wisdom

a half-line of 7 syllables followed by another of 8. By the addition of another 4 words to these 11, 4 words which between them contribute only an extra 6 syllables, Wulfstan turns this line into *four* two-stress phrases containing respectively 4, 6, 6, and 5 syllables (Napier vii, p. 52²⁰):

Ælc riht wisdom
is cumen of Gode
forðam þe God sylf is
se soða wisdom.

Many of Ælfric's half-lines are left untouched, and are accepted by Wulfstan because they happen to have the same rhythmical eligibility as the two-stress phrase interpolations by which they are often flanked. What is most striking and important is that whatever the basic purpose of particular modifications, they almost always help to produce in the finished revision a flow of two-stress phrases which, while necessarily a little less sure and characteristic of Wulfstan than those of his own independent compositions, are nevertheless remarkably similar. Here, then, we have another confirmation of the rhythmical system which Wulfstan followed with such relentless thoroughness.

IV

It is time now to ask, what other purposes are served by a careful analysis of this system? I can think of four; three I shall mention, the fourth I should like to consider in more detail. First, I believe that it should be possible to learn something about the stress system of late Old English from this body of material hitherto untapped for such a purpose.²¹ Secondly, it is easier on the basis of a knowledge of the precise point at which a passage breaks rhythmically to clear up a few textual problems, or at least to suggest the right line of approach. One example is sufficient, that of a famous crux in the *Sermo ad Anglos* involving the phrase *þe for heora prytan lewe nellað beorgan*. The pointing shows that the rhythm breaks between *prytan* and *lewe*, and that any interpretation which seeks to place *lewe* in intimate syntactic association with *prytan* rather than with *beorgan* is almost cer-

tainly wrong.²² Thirdly, it is perhaps worth noting that some attention to the rhythmical scheme should lead one to beware, in any investigation of Wulfstan's language, of accepting as normal prose usage something which may have been controlled by the shape of the phrase patterns he allowed himself. This means especially that a study of word-order might have to reckon with certain aberrations, and that the choice of words and even inflexions²³ may sometimes have been dictated by the system. This also applies, of course, to Ælfric's rhythmical writing.

I come now to the fourth matter, the problem of the Wulfstan canon, which, if there were time, would call for much fuller treatment. Two questions immediately arise after we have asked ourselves whether Wulfstan's rhythmical habits will enable us to sort out the canon. The first is, did Wulfstan always write like this? In other words, if you find a piece of prose that does not have the characteristics I have tried to describe, is it then certainly *not* by him? I find this question very hard to answer. I should say that there is no evidence that Wulfstan ever wrote anything that does not have in a considerable measure the rhythmical features which are most strikingly present in an exhortatory piece like the *Sermo ad Anglos*. His calmer expository prose, whether it be in the sermons or in the laws, is sometimes slightly less crisply rhythmized, but it is never by any means to be confused with the language of ordinary conversation. At the same time we must remember that what I have called ordinary prose was common enough in his time. Are we to conclude, then, that with Wulfstan the other, more mannered, way of writing became so ingrained a habit that he soon found himself unable to write anything less stylized? I think we can hardly conclude this, but must say only that whenever Wulfstan was writing anything official or to be delivered orally, anything, in other words, of the kind which his successors thought fit to preserve, he dropped naturally into this style. That he used it in the laws is not surprising; they would frequently be cited orally, and their memorability and impressiveness would be the greater if they were in a rhythmical shape.

Here one wonders a little about the situations in which Ælfric deemed it proper to assume the high style. He uses it not merely for sermons but also in private letters, and in private letters to men who were not so illiterate that they would need to have them read out to them. We must remember, however, the modernity of the distinction between reading to oneself and

reading aloud, and that in this age a man read aloud or at least moved his lips even in reading to himself, so that there would always be a direct sensory appeal in any rhythm or alliterative adornment.²⁴ It cannot, therefore, be said that there were any situations in which to compose in a rhythmical style was entirely without reason, provided your reader knew what you were about, and could read with reasonable fluency. So it is possible that Wulfstan grew so much into it that it became his habitual mode of writing, just as blank verse came frequently to be the vehicle of John Kemble's conversation. At the same time I would note that the letter of Wulfstan to Cnut,²⁵ though by no means without marked rhythmical characteristics, has not the same firm touch we find in the sermons or in most of the other work we know to be his. If here he was trying to write ordinary prose, it shows that by this time he was unable to depart radically from the other style which he had cultivated for so long.

So much for the first of my two questions; a sermon or an official document not in his usual style is not likely to be by him. The second question is, was Wulfstan one of a school which used this fourth Old English style, or was he quite apart? If he can be shown to be quite apart, then we are in a strong position, for anything which shows his peculiar features of rhythm must certainly be by him. Here, unfortunately, the situation becomes complicated. I have already suggested that the basis of this whole system of his is something essentially in tune with the make-up of the English language. If many generations of poets could absorb the more complex but linguistically related system of Old English verse, should we not expect the other style, heard in the lawcourts and from the pulpit, to spread widely once it had taken shape? I think we should, but first we ought to ask whether it first took shape in Wulfstan's hands or whether it is earlier. We know at least that many features of his style are found before his time; the fondness for phrases with two alliterating or rhyming elements of which the law texts furnish early examples is only part of a tradition in which there are other resemblances to his style. Nor are these things confined to English, and Professor Bethurum has shown that some of them have a venerable ancestry.²⁶ But what about the regularly recurring two-stress phrase? What is its history, how old is it? Was there a rhythmical tradition, say in the law texts or in homiletic literature, which was not that of the classical verse,²⁷ but which supplied a model which Wulfstan followed quite closely?

As to the laws, it must be noted that the early codes are by

no means so highly rhythmized as the later ones. Of the surviving law texts which are likely to have been composed before his time, there is none which can be pointed to as a model which would satisfactorily account for Wulfstan's style.²⁸ It is possible, of course, that the early laws have lost some of their rhythmical character in the course of transmission, but I think it highly unlikely. If we turn from the laws to the homilies we shall find things of rather greater interest and significance. These can be studied in greatest concentration in the homilies of the Vercelli Book. It is interesting to note how intimate is the association in manuscripts of material preserved by Vercelli and of texts written by Wulfstan. This is probably no accident, and it is almost certain that Wulfstan was brought up in familiarity with the traditions which Vercelli represents.

The earlier history of sermon writing in the vernacular is obscure, and we cannot be sure how old the rhythmical traditions such as we find in the Vercelli Book are. Nor can we speak of one single style or technique there, but at least it may be said that the traditions which it preserves are earlier than Wulfstan and that among them are stylistic habits which have a remarkable similarity to his own. A passage from Napier xxx (p. 145¹⁵ ff.) will illustrate this; we have here a piece of text which is also found on folio 114^b of the Vercelli Book and which is mainly composed of a succession of two-stress phrases.²⁹ And despite significant differences in detail between the patterns of these phrases and those of Wulfstan, it is clear that a tradition represented by a passage of this kind could well have furnished the rhythmical inspiration for Wulfstan's own writing, and of course for that of others. Where this tradition came from I am unwilling to guess, but the material extant would indicate that it is only in the late Old English period that the two-stress phrase comes to be used in a variety of ways outside its very technical employment in the role of half-line in the classical verse. I would suggest that the very diversity of the different techniques which we find in the debased verse of some of the *Chronicle* poems, in the *Lives of Saints*, in the Vercelli homilies, and in Wulfstan himself is in itself a sign that the habit as a whole was not very old. It is not the diversity of decay, but, in Ælfric and Wulfstan at least, a systematic attempt to produce something stylized which led to different results in different writers because the traditions behind were not solid and established.

I have said that up to Wulfstan's time no one employed quite the same rhythmical system as he did, but that something closely

akin was already in common use in homiletic writings. From the point of view of the canon of his works the problem of the antecedents to his style is less serious than its history from his own time onwards. At this juncture we run into those cloudy figures, the Wulfstan imitators, who are believed by some to have produced material which is indistinguishable from the work of the master. I think there can be no doubt that the traditions which the Vercelli homilies most clearly represent were passed on right to Middle English times, and the real problem is whether Wulfstan's (as I believe) individual modifications of these had sufficient cogency and appeal to lead other writers to adopt them and write exactly as he did. Though I should regard Wulfstan as the one man of his generation likely to have produced a definite school, its members would scarcely have as their main ambition a desire to pass off their work as his. And even if they had, it is probable that in such a situation, where they would be following what was not an age-old tradition, their own personal characteristics would appear in what they wrote, in rhythmical details as well as in matters of syntax and vocabulary.³⁰ Therefore, if a text seems in all these particulars to be characteristic of Wulfstan, it is extremely unlikely that anyone but he wrote it, or, indeed, could have written it.

There are some eleventh-century texts which are remarkably similar to his in rhythmical texture. Among these I should include the text printed by Liebermann under the title *Antworten auf Klage um Land* and also *Rectitudines Singularum Personarum* together with its companion piece *Gerefa*.³¹ Nevertheless, I believe that a strict analysis of their two-stress phrases shows that they deviate significantly from those of Wulfstan; such an analysis is therefore quite valuable except, of course, when we have to deal with very short texts. Whenever problems of authorship arise, it need hardly be said that what the nature of the rhythms suggests must always be considered along with all other available evidence, and not by itself. At the same time I have often found it strikingly illuminating to begin by using it by itself, and it is no bad exercise to attempt to formulate conclusions on this basis alone, checking them afterwards with a fuller array of different information.

I had hoped here to say something precise about certain disputed texts and the evidence supplied about them by a detailed analysis of their rhythms.³² But the facts must be presented in detail or not at all, so that I have to crave forgiveness if this lecture has turned out to be nothing more than a prolegomenon.

Some nine hundred years ago, in a text I have just mentioned, an Anglo-Saxon described in rhythmical periods the duties of a good reeve. I will end with his last words:

Ic gecende be ðam ðe ic cuðe; se ðe bet cunne, gecyðe his mare.

'I have explained the matter as well as I knew how to; let him who is better informed explain it more fully.'

NOTES

1. See Dorothy Bethurum, 'Stylistic Features of the Old English Laws', *M.L.R.* xxvii, where many references are given; Dorothy Whitelock, *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*, and references in section iii of her bibliography; 'Wulfstan and the so-called Laws of Edward and Guthrum', *E.H.R.* lvi; 'Wulfstan and the Laws of Cnut', *E.H.R.* lxxiii. For some problems of vocabulary see R. J. Menner, 'Anglian and Saxon Elements in Wulfstan's Vocabulary', *M.L.N.* lxxiii, and references.
2. The second of these is printed by E. v. K. Dobbie, *The Anglo Saxon Minor Poems*, p. 24 f. On pp. xxxii-xliii he discusses the various pieces of verse found in the *Chronicle*. To this type belongs the three-line poem inscribed on the shield of Eadwen. The text is found in F. Kluge, 'Zur Geschichte des Reimes', *P.B.B.* 9, pp. 422 ff., and a facsimile at the end of vol. i of Hickes, *Thesaurus*.
3. Attempts to prove that a different kind of popular verse coexisted with the 'classical' even in early Old English are not convincing. See J. W. Rankin, 'Rhythm and Rime before the Norman Conquest', *P.M.L.A.* xxxvi (1921), pp. 401-28.
4. See especially Dorothy Bethurum, 'The Form of Ælfric's Lives of Saints', *Studies in Philology*, xxix, p. 519, and W. W. Skeat, *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, ii, pp. l-lxiii.
5. For the literature of this arid terminological controversy and related things, see the references in G. H. Gerould, 'Abbot Ælfric's Rhythmic Prose', *Modern Philology*, xxii. I may add that I do not agree with Gerould that Ælfric's rhythms in this kind of writing are explained by rhythmical features in Latin texts which he was using or with which he was familiar.
6. The poem of 959 is on the accession of Eadgar and is found in MSS. D, E, and in part, *sub anno* 958, in F; that of 975 is on the death of Eadgar, and is found in MS. D. On Wulfstan's authorship of these, see K. Jost, 'Wulfstan und die Angelsächsische Chronik', *Anglia*, 47, pp. 105 ff. Under the year 975 MSS. A, B, and C have a different poem, in classical verse, on the death of Eadgar, and D and E have a poem in debased verse which I have already discussed.
7. e.g. A. S. Napier, *Wulfstan: Sammlung der ihm zugeschriebenen Homilien*, 146³¹-147⁶ and *se hæfde . . . þam byligeon* (xxx); 200¹⁰⁻¹⁴ (xlii). The problem of assessing passages like these is complicated by the fact that in some

cases they may be nothing more than paraphrases of real poems. An example of such a thing is found in Napier, 145³³ ff. (= Vercelli 114^b) where we have a prose dilution of lines 3 ff. of *An Exhortation to Christian Living*. As it stands, this dilution looks like an example of irregular verse, 'debased' indeed, but preserving many of the metrical features of the original. See L. Whitbread, 'Two notes on Minor Old English Poems', *Studia Neophilologica*, xx, no. iii, pp. 192 ff. But there are examples of a less fortuitous debased verse of the kind I discuss, albeit markedly different from Ælfric, such as the piece in Napier pp. 186-7 beginning

(in þam dæge us byð æteowed)
seo geopenung heofena and engla þrym
and helwihta hryre and eorðan forwyrd
treowleasra gewinn and tungla gefeall. . .

This is also found in a metrically less perfect form in the second and the twenty-first homilies in the Vercelli Book, from which it is printed (with variations from Napier) by Max Förster, 'Der Vercelli-Codex cxvii', in *Festschrift für Lorenz Morsbach*, pp. 90-2.

8. The Ely Charter. The interest of this document was first brought to my attention by the treatment of it in E. Sievers, *Metrische Studien*, iv, pp. 208, 575. The Latin and Old English texts are found in Stowe Charters No. 31 (British Museum), and are printed in W. de G. Birch, *Cartularium saxonicum*, Nos. 1266, 1267. There is a reproduction of the manuscript in *Ordnance Survey Facsimiles*, Part iii, no. xxxii. The Old English text is edited by A. J. Robertson, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, pp. 98-102. Mr. N. R. Ker informs me that the Latin and the Old English texts are almost certainly in the same hand, which appears to be of the second half of the eleventh century. According to my analysis of its rhythmical characteristics it shows a surprising similarity to Ælfric's work in this kind; the same is true of the use of alliteration and indeed of all stylistic features. If the Old English version of the charter was really written in or soon after 970, this similarity is very odd, for there is nothing else like it till we come to Ælfric's own writing. Nevertheless, it is obvious that its rhythmical features cannot be used as evidence that Ælfric wrote it, for if the text is as early as 970, it could be held to prove that Ælfric was merely continuing an older tradition; on the other hand, if it is late, then it might be argued that it was the work of a successor or imitator. I turn therefore to some other points. It has already been mentioned (p. 112) that Ælfric was at pains on at least three occasions to write in praise of Eadgar. Now the author of the English version of the charter not only does the same, but he does it in phrases often identical with or similar to those used in one or other of the three acknowledged Ælfric texts, while other passages in the charter can be paralleled elsewhere in his work. It is therefore either by Ælfric or a very curious and ingenious pastiche by someone else, and since the style, diction, rhythm, and vocabulary is everywhere characteristic of Ælfric, I am led to the first of these two conclusions.

I give below some of the parallels. Some (e.g. *Eadgar cining*) may well be fortuitous, but I have considered it inadvisable to ignore these, especially such of them as occur in the very Ælfric texts which offer other, more striking, parallels. The line references to the charter are according to Miss

Robertson's numbering, and the following abbreviations are used; Hom.: B. Thorpe, *The Homilies of the Anglo Saxon Church*; Sk.: W. W. Skeat, *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*; Ep.: 'Epilogue to the Heptateuch', ed. S. J. Crawford, *E.E.T.S.* 160, pp. 414-17.

P. 98. 6, 7. *ðe . . . gewissað . . . gewylt*. Cf. the juxtaposition of these verbs in Hom. i. 78¹⁵, *se Heretoga seðe gewylt and gewissað. . .*

7. *ealra cininga*. Cf. Ep. 83-4, *ealra cininga swiðost*.

8. *Eadgar cining*. Cf. Sk. xxi. 445.

ofer Engla peode. Cf. Ep. 82-4, and especially 84, *ofer Engla ðeode*.

9. *7 he hæfð nu gewyld*. Cf. Ep. 84, *7 him God gewilde*.

Scottas 7 Cumbras. Cf. Sk. xxi. 451, *Cumera and Scotta*.

10-11. *7 eall þ̅ ðis igland . . . þ̅ ic nu on sibbe gesitte mine cynestol*. Cf. Hom. ii. 306¹, *and he mid gesæt siððan his cynestol*; Sk. xiii. 148, *þaða þis igland wæs wunigende on sibbe*; xxi. 447, *and his cynerice wæs wunigende on sibbe* (a clear enough example at any rate of Ælfric's readiness to use his own material more than once).

12. *hu ic his lof arære*. Cf. Ep. 82-3, *Eadgar . . . arærde Godes lof. . .*

13. *purh ure asolcennysse*. Cf. Hom. i. 602⁸, *ure asolcennysse*.

14-15. Cf. for general sense Sk. xxi. 446.

P. 100. 2-3. *þæs halgan mædenes þe ðær gehal lið oð þis*. Cf. Sk. xx. 106, *þæs halgan mædenes*, and 111-12, *seðe hire lic heold hal on ðære byrgene git oð þisne dæg*.

3. *on eall hwittre ðryh of marmstane geworht*. Cf. Sk. xx. 79-81, *ane mære pruh . . . geworht of marmstane eall hwites bleos*, and 83, *eac of hwitum marmstane*.

5. *7 hu heo Gode ðeowode on godre drohtnunge*. Cf. Sk. xx. 32-3, *þæt heo Criste moste þeowian on mynsterlicre drohtnunge*.

7 be hyre geendunge. Cf. Sk. xx. 71, *æfter hire geendunge*.

6. *swa swa Beda aurat peoðæ lareow on his larbocum*. Cf. Sk. xx. 118, *swa swa se lareow Beda on ðære bec sæde þe he gesette be ðysum*; xx. 24, *se halga Beda þe þas boc gesette*.

The date at which this text was composed is a matter of great interest. One naturally thinks of the possibility of Æthelwold having commissioned Ælfric to do it. But Æthelwold died in 984, and though there is no doubt that Ælfric could have been writing by then, there is certainly no evidence for his having used the rhythmical style till much later. The parallels would on the whole suggest that in this document he was drawing from the other three texts. A date around 1006, when he was engaged on the Latin *Life* of Æthelwold, is perhaps the most likely. I am not qualified to discuss the authorship of the Latin text, but I cannot agree with the view of Sievers (op. cit., p. 208 n.) who appears to have thought that both Latin and Old English were by the same author, and that the Old English version was the original. He does not consider the possibility of one or both being considerably later than 970. The authenticity of the Latin version has often been questioned, e.g. by Birch, Stevenson, and Plummer.

9. I have not attempted to make an exhaustive collection of writings which seem to me to be in the Ælfric manner, but two might be mentioned here. The first is Napier xxxi which opens thus:

We willað nu secgan sume bysne to þisum;
An munuccild wunode mid manegum gebroðrum
on Mauricius mynstre þæs halgan martyres,
þæt is on Muntgiu swa men farað to Rome.

Ða hæfde þæt munuccild swiðe mærlíce stemne
 and his modor gecom to þam mynstre for oft
 and gehyrde gelome hyre leofan sunu
 hu myrge he sang mid þam munecum symle
 and hyre wæs myrge on hyre mode þurh þæt.

It is found only in MS. E where another hand has given it the title 'Be ane munuccilde'. There can be no doubt that this is not by Wulfstan: aside from the rhythmical features, we may note that the verbs *hopian* and *befrian* (Napier 152^{20, 23}) are not recorded in Wulfstan's works. The whole piece seems to me to be characteristic of Ælfric in rhythm, style, and vocabulary.

The second text is the paraphrase of two passages from the Book of Daniel, and is preserved in MS. Vespasian D xiv. It is printed in full though not with complete accuracy by Rubie D. Warner in 'Early English Homilies from the Twelfth Century Manuscript Vesp. D xiv', *E.E.T.S., O.S.*, 152 (1917), p. 38 ff. The text is briefly discussed by Max Förster in *Englische Studien*, 54, p. 49 f. and the first part is printed in his *Altenglisches Lesebuch für Anfänger* (5th ed. 1949), p. 35. It begins:

On þære ilcan burh Babilonie
 (þe we embe specað)
 wæs on Daries dagen se wytege Daniel
 Godes heh ðeign haliges lifes man.

(*þe we embe specað* is clearly extra-metrical, and Förster suggests that it is 'jedenfalls als Zusatz des Kopisten zu streichen, anknüpfend an die vorhergehende Erzählung von Nebukadnezar'.) Like the first, this text seems to me to be remarkably similar to the known writings of Ælfric; it may be significant that it is preserved in a manuscript full of writings known to be by him. But nothing final can be said about the authorship of these two pieces and others like them until more is known about the rhythmical structure of eleventh- and twelfth-century writings as a whole.

10. The first passage is Napier 57-16; the position of the two main stresses in lines 9 and 16 is somewhat doubtful (cf. introduction to note 19). The second passage read is printed in note 14. It is hardly necessary to add that the full rhythmical power of his prose is more clearly in evidence in this second passage.

11. *Anglia*, 7, Anzeiger, p. 200.

12. I do not propose here to discuss the various phonetic characteristics which would distinguish two such manners of enunciation, or which for that matter would have to be considered in any full analysis of the pronunciation of a two-stress phrase. There are problems not merely of rhythm (i.e. the length of time and exact degree of stress accorded to the different elements, among which we must reckon with *silences*), but also of intonation. It is perhaps worth calling attention to the fact that when one says that a phrase (either Old or Modern English) has two main stresses which are found in such and such positions, this is not really a description of the rhythmical character of the phrase. The relationship between stress, duration, and intonation is very intimate and I do not feel that stress can be said to be more important than the other two. Any statement, therefore, about the number and position of main stresses should not be accepted

as more than a rough directive from which (at least in contemporary English) we can make certain deductions about the nature of the other features.

13. It is well known that the most diverse kinds of speech material tend to shape themselves into a two-stress pattern. E.g. *Piccadilly Circus* as readily as *Piccadilly*, *Waterloo Bridge* as well as *Waterloo*, *hām and egg sandwich* beside *hām and égg*. For a demonstration of the dominant position of the two-stress phrase in all periods of English see Marjorie Daunt, 'Old English Verse and English Speech Rhythm', *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1946, p. 56.
14. I print below the text of Miss Whitelock's edition, lines 55–68 with the pointing added from all five manuscripts, B, C, E, H, and I. The material from B and C (CCCC 419 and 201) comes from transcripts kindly lent to me by Miss Whitelock; that from I (British Museum Cotton Nero A i) was noted for me by Dr. B. J. Timmer. For convenience of printing I have not indicated the different kinds of punctuation marks used. A capital letter therefore merely indicates that the MS. for which it stands has some mark of punctuation at the point where the letter is printed:

Ne dohte hit nu lange EI
 inne ne ute BCEHI
 ac wæs here H 7 hunger BCEHI
 bryne BH 7 blodgyte CEHI
 5 on gewelhwylcan ende BCEI
 oft 7 gelome BCEHI
 7 us stalu BH 7 cwalu BCEHI
 stric BH 7 steorfa BCHI
 orfwealm BCH 7 uncoþu BCEHI
 10 hol BH 7 hete BCEH
 7 rypera reafiac CEI
 derede swyþe þearle BCEHI
 7 (us) ungylda B
 swyðe gedrehtan BCEHI
 15 7 us unwedera E foroft BCI
 weoldon unwæstma BCEHI
 forþam on pysan I earde wæs C
 swa hit pincan mæg BCEI
 nu fela geara
 20 unrihta fela BCHI
 7 tealte getrywða E
 æghwær mid mannum BCEHI
 ne bearh nu foroft E
 gesib gesibban BCEI
 25 þe ma þe fremdan BCEHI
 ne fæder his bearne BCHI
 ne hwilum bearn
 his agenum fæder BCEHI
 ne broþer oþrum BCEHI
 30 ne ure ænig
 his lif (ne) fadode BEI
 swa swa he scolde BCEHI

ne gehadode regollice BCHI
 ne læwede lahllice BCEHI
 35 ac worhtan lust us to lage I
 ealles to gelome EI
 7 naþor ne heoldan
 ne lare ne lage
 Godes ne manna I
 40 swa swa we scoldan EI

Lines 35-40 are not in MSS. B, C, and H. Lines 3, 4, 7-10 are punctuated in the middle in some of the MSS.; this is a convention often adopted when two words of similar or opposite meaning are used together in a phrase. It is not a rhythmical pointing at all and is inherited from earlier Latin scribal tradition (see E. A. Lowe, *The Beneventan Script*, p. 233, and specimen no. 2 on p. 229). In the *Sermo ad Anglos* it is used most frequently by B, less so by H, with great rarity by C and I, and never by E. Concerning pointing at the ends of lines, we may note that lines 15 and 17 present the only conflicts. In 15 the agreement of BCI against E suggests strongly that E is wrong though plausible. In 17, I's pointing after *þysan* is patently an error. In the thirty-four lines found in all MSS., only three have no punctuation at all, a proportion which roughly applies to the *Sermo* as a whole.

15. See especially K. Luick, *Anglia* 23, Beiblatt p. 226, and references in his *Historische Grammatik der englischen Sprache*, paragraphs 55 and 60. For the pointing in the Cædmon MS. see J. Lawrence, *Chapters on Alliterative Verse*. It is important that editors of Old and Middle English texts should record the punctuation. If it is not actually printed, as it is by Skeat in the *Lives of Saints*, or by Joseph Hall in his *Selections from Early Middle English*, it ought at least to be noted in an appendix as it is by Fehr in his edition of *Ælfric's Pastoral Letters*.
16. I take this opportunity of suggesting that a careful analysis of the punctuation of the texts in Lambarde's *Archaionomia* might settle the question of whether he had access to sources no longer extant. For the clear demonstration by Mr. Kenneth Sisam (*M.L.R.* xviii, p. 98; cf. *ibid.*, 253-69, *Beiblatt* z. *Anglia* 1924, p. 214, 1925, p. 345) of palpable sixteenth-century insertions in a few notable passages does not prove that *all* Lambarde's deviations from known manuscripts are of this kind. The punctuation of these texts is so much in conformity with Old English practice that it is not easy to believe that Lambarde himself produced it by the light of nature. So if it could be shown that his punctuation of any text is not taken over direct from any of the known manuscripts containing this text (either from one or in a composite fashion from more than one) then we should have strong evidence that Liebermann was right in supposing another source. The only text I have examined from this point of view is EGu (for the details of the punctuation in the two surviving MSS. B and H, I am indebted to Mr. John Bromwich and to Mr. A. J. Aitken). I know of no way of assessing such a complicated set of facts as these two MSS. offer, but briefly the position is as follows.

It is generally believed that Lambarde did not know of H when he compiled the *Archaionomia* (Liebermann, *Gesetze*, I, xxviii, col. 2) nor can I find any textual evidence to suggest that he did. If, however, he was relying

solely on B, the deviations in punctuation are astonishingly numerous, though his own pointing contrives to be so 'good' that it deviates from that of H in only about one-fifth as many cases as it deviates from B. It so happens that the punctuation of H is better than that of B in the sense that (with numerous omissions typical of almost all manuscripts) it more faithfully divides two-stress phrases. It is therefore probably nearer to the original text than B is, at least in this respect. In the absence of any other textual evidence to the contrary, it is not easy to believe that Lambarde was using H. Yet I find it hard to believe that on his own he could have revised the pointing of the B version of EGu to produce a punctuation with so comparatively few deviations from that of H, and it seems to me more reasonable to suppose that he had access to another manuscript which had preserved a 'good' punctuation and which therefore frequently agreed with H. It may be noted that later when Lambarde produced a text of *Gepinþo* from H (*Perambulation of Kent*, published 1576), though his readings of the text itself remain as unreliable as elsewhere (he deviates from the manuscript in over a score of details) yet he does not radically alter the punctuation. He retains almost all that H has, and simply adds more of his own at certain fairly obvious points. It is clear that all the available material needs full investigation.

17. There has been a widespread tendency to ignore or to be insufficiently aware of the clear distinction between the rhythmical characteristics of Wulfstan and of Ælfric. See the pertinent remarks of Professor Bethurum, 'The Connection of the Katherine Group with Old English Prose', *J.E.G.Ph.*, xxiv. 561, footnote 26.
18. The doctrine is often repeated that D and E half-lines disappear in Middle English because of the loss of the old poetic compounds. One may note (a) that not all D lines involve compounds at all—*swutol sang scopes, flod blode weol* (*Beowulf*, 90, 1422), &c., nor even all E—*twelf wintra tid* (*Beowulf*, 147); (b) that the compounds which in O.E. form all or part of a D or E line are not always 'poetic' words such as are found only rarely after Old English times. The disappearance of types D and E must be connected rather with a change in the rhythmical basis of the language whereby the weight of syllables with subsidiary stress, e.g. in trisyllabic words, is no longer so distinctive that it can properly play its former functional role.
19. It is convenient to show in tabular form some facts about Wulfstan's rhythmical two-stress phrases. There is no method of analysis which is both simple and exhaustive (cf. note 12) and I have chosen to present the simplest possible description. It consists of marking the two syllables with main stress as / and the rest as ×; the symbol × here represents therefore not 'minimal stress', but 'any degree of stress short of main stress', e.g. *orfcwealm and uncoðu* / × × / × ×; *to gedwolgoda weorðunge* × × / × × / × ×. The analysis which follows is of the *Sermo ad Anglos*. It is necessarily somewhat tentative and I have ignored some phrases, not so much because they have any abnormality of pattern, but because it is not always easy to decide where the two main stresses fall, e.g. *and ut of þysan earde*, × / × × × / × or × × × / × / ×? I have also ignored the *Schwellvers* (Miss Whitelock's edition, lines 137-43, *þurh morðdæda . . . mistlice forligru*; and 167-72, *her syndan mannsлагan . . . ryperas 7 reaferas*) on which see 5c. on p. 136.

<i>Patterns (ignoring anacrusis)</i>	<i>Number of syllables before first main stress</i>					<i>Totals</i>
	0	1	2	3	4	
/ x x x x / x x x						0
/ x x x / x x x		3	1			4
/ x x / x x x		1	3			4
/ x / x x x		1	2	1		4
// x x x		2		1		3
/ x x x x / x x	1	2	1			4
/ x x x / x x	3	13	1	1		18
/ x x / x x	17	17	6	1		41
/ x / x x	4	11	4	2		21
// x x		1	3	1		5
/ x x x x / x	1	2				3
/ x x x / x	45	56	13			114
/ x x / x	90	96	33	6		225
/ x / x	15	34	36	10		95
// x		2	30	1	1	34
/ x x x x /						0
/ x x x /			1	2		3
/ x x /	1	2	3			6
/ x /		6	6	1	1	14
//						0
						<u>598</u>

The enclosed figures are of those patterns used ten times or more.

The patterns recorded ten times or more from my material are only fifteen in number, and these account for about 86 per cent. of the text. They are:

x / x x / x	96
/ x x / x	90
x / x x x / x	56
/ x x x / x	45
x x / x / x	36
x / x / x	34
x x / x x / x	33
x x // x	30
x / x x / x x	17
/ x x / x x	17
/ x / x	15
x x / x x x / x	13
x / x x x / x x	13
x / x / x x	11
x x x / x / x	10
	<u>516</u>

If we disregard anacrusis, we can group these into seven basic types:

1.	/ × × / ×	219
2.	/ × × × / ×	114
3.	/ × / ×	95
4.	/ × × / × ×	34
5.	× / / ×	30
6.	/ × × × / × ×	13
7.	/ × / × ×	11
		<hr/> 516

The following comments may be made:

1. Varieties of the 'A' type including cases with anacrusis of one or two syllables, i.e. (× ×) / × (× ×) / ×, account for about 70 per cent. of all phrases.

2. Anacrusis rarely (about 4 per cent. of cases) exceeds two syllables. The two examples in which it exceeds three, *swa þæt hy ne scamað na*, and *and þy us is þearf micel* (*Sermo*, 161, 198) are, in terms of the prosody of the O.E. classical verse, respectively B and C types where the preliminary unstressed material is not strictly speaking anacrusis at all. The amount of anacrusis in Wulfstan's phrases depends partly on the 'weight' of the rest of the phrase, and tends to be in inverse ratio thereto. This means that phrases which without anacrusis would have seven syllables rarely have more than one opening unstressed syllable, and those which would have six rarely have more than two. Trisyllabic anacrusis, which as I have said is not common anyhow, is mainly confined to phrases which would otherwise have three, four, or five syllables. This functional compensatory use of anacrusis is in accordance with the traditions of the classical verse where the conception of total weight of half-line is always important.

3. 'B' types of phrase, i.e. those ending with a syllable bearing main stress, are remarkably rare. This is in striking contrast not only with the classical verse (see p. 120) but also with Ælfric, in whom it is found in nearly 20 per cent. of half-lines. This is one of the most significant of Wulfstan's deviations from other rhythmical genres.

4. The pattern / × × (×) / is so rare as to be suspicious. This makes the addition in MS. C after *yfelian swyþe* in line 7 of the *Sermo* somewhat suspect. The addition begins:

þis wæs on Æþelredes cyninges
dagum gediht.
feower geara fæce
ær he forðferde.

The phrase *dagum gediht* is the only clear example in the *Sermo* of a pattern beginning and ending with a main stress, and the pattern of the preceding phrase × × × / × × × / × × is not found again. Though the rest of the addition is metrically sound, it seems to me that the irregularity of the two opening phrases is rather against Wulfstan being their author. On the other hand the addition in C at line 48 is rhythmically above reproach.

5. The only cases where the *Sermo* does not divide regularly into groups with the above characteristics are these:

(a) Apostrophes and interjectory remarks. The *Sermo* has the following

examples; *Leofan men*, 4; *La hwæt*, 48; *And la*, 102, 130 (different in C); *Eala*, 176; *Ac la*, 180 (C and H have *Ac nu*). It would be wrong to regard these as ordinary unstressed material preliminary to the phrase following them, for in each case this is rhythmically regular without them, though it may be noted that none of them has a punctuation mark after it except *Leofan men*, and this only in B. *Leofan men* and *La hwæt* (written *ld hwæt* in H) have both two main stresses but are deficient in number of syllables, the minimum of which for a Wulfstan phrase is four.

- (b) *Inquits* are often extrametrical; there are no examples in the *Sermo*, but one occurs in the first passage from Napier vi cited in note 27 below.
- (c) Expanded rhythmical phrases. I have already mentioned two passages in the *Sermo* where the phrase-unit is markedly above normal dimensions and weight, and stands more or less in the same relation to the normal phrase as expanded half-lines of the classical verse do to normal half-lines. These expanded phrases are not common, they almost always occur in bunches and they are only used to achieve some specially powerful effect.
- (d) It is possible that very occasionally, especially at the end of a period, three-stress phrases were used, e.g. *bét þonne we ær þýsan dýdan*, 17; *dó máre gif he mæge*, 72; *Gód úre hélpe*, 210. But I am not sure that it is necessary to assume this at any point.

6. It may be noted that a particular pattern tends to be followed by itself more frequently than would be the case in a succession of patterns which formed a purely random series, e.g. lines 89-92 where (ignoring anacrusis) the pattern / × × / × occurs seven times in a row:

fylpe adreogað
 an æfter anum
 7 ælc æfter oðrum
 hundum geliccast
 þe for fylpe ne scrifað
 and syððan wið weorðe
 syllað of lande.

Lines 96-7 provide five consecutive examples of / × × × / × :

fremdum to gewealde
 ut of ðisse þeode
 7 eal þæt syndan micle
 7 egeslice dæda
 understande se þe wille.

In the second passage it is interesting to note that the second line, which is found only in E, fits the prevailing pattern: not only does this suggest that it is an addition by Wulfstan himself, but it shows how carefully additions were woven into the text. This tendency for patterns to repeat themselves is important in any consideration of the problem of interpolations. It will be found that these (even when there is no doubt of their genuineness) often break up two originally adjacent phrases of the same rhythmical pattern, e.g. line 48 (/ × × × / × ×), 66-8 (/ × × / × ×).

7. It should be emphasized that the rhythmical structure of the *Sermo* does not differ radically from that of other Wulfstan texts. For purposes of comparison I list below the figures for a number of texts; the *Sermo*, Napier x, Napier xiii, EGu, and (for contrast) Ælfric's *Life of St. Oswald*. The numbers in brackets indicate the total number of phrases assessed in each text; in the lists the figures have all been raised by multiplication to the same scale as those for the *Sermo*.

Patterns (ignoring anacrusis)	<i>Sermo</i> (598)	<i>Napier x</i> (512)	<i>Napier xiii</i> (357)	<i>EGu</i> (172)	<i>St. Oswald</i> (500)
/x x x /x x x	0	0	0	0	0
/x x x /x x x	4	1	5	0	8
/x x /x x x	4	5	10	3	4
/x /x x x	4	9	3	7	7
//x x x	3	1	5	0	4
/x x x /x x	4	0	4	0	5
/x x x /x x	18	28	25	35	20
/x x /x x	41	46	41	48	46
/x /x x	21	29	18	37	36
//x x	5	7	8	17	6
/x x x /x	3	5	5	24	26
/x x x /x	114	120	104	91	66
/x x /x	225	226	190	203	138
/x /x	95	74	120	91	101
//x	34	26	33	28	14
/x x x /	0	1	0	0	6
/x x x /	3	2	2	0	30
/x x /	6	7	3	0	51
/x /	14	11	22	14	30
//	0	0	0	0	0
	598	598	598	598	598

20. The nature of Wulfstan's alterations to Napier viii is the subject of a dissertation by G. O. Zimmerman, *Die beiden Fassungen des dem Abt Ælfric zugeschriebenen angel-sächsischen Traktats Über die siebenfältige Gabe des Heiligen Geistes*, Leipzig, 1888. He discusses in detail the changes in vocabulary, the introduction of favourite Wulfstan phrases, &c. He is well aware that some kind of metrical transformation has taken place: 'Die Vierheber dieses Stückes (i.e. Napier vii) tragen nicht mehr das Ælfric'sche Gepräge. Sie scheinen mir nicht mehr als Langzeilen berechnet gewesen zu sein. Die verknüpfende Alliteration fehlt meist, und die Sätze resp. Gedanken endigen nicht mehr wie bei Ælfric am Ende eines Doppelverses nur, sondern nach jedem beliebigen Vierheber.' This is interesting as far as it goes, but the author offers no analysis of the exact ways in which the transformation is brought about. The term 'Vierheber' and its use here is of course due to the Einkenel school.

I print below a few lines from Napier vii, pp. 52²⁰ ff. (= viii, pp. 58²⁰ ff.) in a way intended to show the nature of the transformation. Normal type represents Ælfric's text, and each of his whole lines begins a new line on the printed page. Bold type represents Wulfstan's additions; when a word or a phrase of Ælfric has been omitted by Wulfstan, I print it in brackets. In this way the text as Ælfric wrote it is represented by everything not in bold type: as Wulfstan left it, by everything not in brackets.

A vertical bar represents the break between each of Ælfric's original half-lines, a full stop the rhythmical divisions as intended by Wulfstan:

Ælc **riht** wisdom. is **cumen** of Gode. | forðam þe God sylf is. **se soða** wisdom. |

and ælc man bið. **gesælig and** eadig. | þe hæfð þæne wisdom. | **þe of Godes** agenre gyfe cymð.

(gif he) **and ðurh** þæt his agen lif. | gelogað mid wisdom. |

Se wisdom is. (halig) | **swa we ær cwædon.** þæs halgan gastes gifu. |

and (se) deofol (forgifð) | **sæwð.** þærtogeanes. (dysig) | **unwisdom and swicdom.** and **gedeð swa þurh** þæt.

þæt (he) **unsælig man.** wisdomes ne (gyrne) | **gyrneð.** ne wislice. **his lif ne** (libbe) | **fadað.**

and gyt **eac gedeð.** þæt forcuðre is. | þæt he (telle) **talað þeh hwilum.** hine **sylfne.** **wærne and** wisne. |

and bið **eac for oft.** swa gehiwod | **licetere.** swylce he wis sy. | **byþ þeah smeagende.** oftor ymbe swicdom. þonne ymbe wisdom.

It will be noticed that in the process of expansion 16 half-lines of Ælfric have grown into 32 Wulfstan phrases, and that this has been brought about by the use of only 72 extra syllables (88 added and 16 removed) beside the 106 of the original.

A knowledge of the nature of these changes is valuable in any consideration of original Wulfstan texts which have themselves undergone revision, because it sometimes helps to show whether such revision is Wulfstan's own work or that of someone else. When the alterations are such that the original two-stress formation is unspoilt or even improved, the probability is that they are his own. The point has some relevance to a problem recently discussed by Mr. N. R. Ker, 'Hemming's Cartulary', in *Studies in Medieval History presented to Frederick Maurice Powicke*, pp. 70-2. Mr. Ker mentions eight early-eleventh-century manuscripts in which a hand occurs — 'not so much a professional as a scholar's hand' — which makes alterations and additions to texts some of which are by Wulfstan. He calls attention to the fact that such tamperings as are in English are 'Wulfstanian in character and language'. Mr. Ker has kindly shown me the relevant passages, and my own impression is that the added material, where it is copious enough to be assessed, shows the same careful attention to rhythmical considerations as that in the revisions of Ælfric. Whether the hand is Wulfstan's own it is not my business to decide. But I believe the revisions to be his, and since these are made by this hand in so many different manuscripts, it is more likely to be his own than that of anyone else. If it is, I should like to call attention to the interest of the fact that the considerable revisions on folios 115-16 of Cotton Tiberius A xiii (see footnote to Napier 4⁴-5¹) include additional punctuation.

A good example of a Wulfstan text which has been tampered with by someone else is Napier lii. The version in *Polity* cap. xix is addressed to priests in the plural; the version in Napier uses the singular, with the result that metrically impeccable phrases of *Polity* are ruined in the transformation. Thus *sacerdas sculan* becomes *sacerd scel* (Napier 275¹³); *ægðer hi sculon* becomes *æþer he sceal* (ibid. line 17); *healdan sceolan* becomes *healdan sceal* (line 20). If Wulfstan himself had made this change he would have filled out these now defective phrases with extra words.

21. For this a full investigation of the very copious material would be necessary. The method would be similar to, though not perhaps as straightforward as, that which Sievers, using the evidence of the classical verse, expounds in PBB. 10.

22. The passage (lines 163–5 of Miss Whitelock's edition) reads thus:

hy scamað þæt hy betan EI
 heora misdæda BCEI
 swa swa bec tæcan BCEHI
 gelice þam dwæsan BCH
 þe for heora prytan BI
 lewe nellað beorgan C(?), EI
 ær hy na ne magan CEI
 þeh hy eal willan BCEHI

It so happens that B begins a new side with the word *lewe* and it might be claimed that its mark of punctuation after *prytan* loses a little weight as a result. But I confirms it, and no manuscript has a mark after *lewe*. So it seems proper to take *þe for heora prytan* separately, with the meaning 'who on account of their pride'. The phrase occurs again in this sense in *Grið* (cap. 21, Liebermann, *Gesetze*, i. 472), a good deal of which, including this passage, seems to bear the mark of Wulfstan's hand. Compare also Napier 178¹⁹: *se ðe for his prytan Gode nele hyran... witod he sceal misfaran*. It follows that the word *lewe* is intimately connected not with *prytan* but with (*nellað*) *beorgan*.

The passage is clearly related to that in another Wulfstan text, EGu 10 (Liebermann, *Gesetze*, i. 132–4), where we have (MS. H):

Gif limlæweo lama
 þe forworht wære
 weorþe forlæten
 7 he æfter þam
 ðreo niht alibbe
 siððan man mot hylpan
 be bisceopes leafe
 se ðe wylle beorgan
 sare 7 saule.

(On *limlæw* see Liebermann, iii. 91.) In the *Sermo*, MS. C actually has *sare nellað beorgan*, which I should regard as an intelligent substitution of a common word for a rare one of similar meaning. In EGu the phrase must mean 'who wishes to cure (or tend to) the injury (of the cripple)'. In the *Sermo* the basic sense of injury or infirmity seems to have taken on a more abstract colour, like that of the compound *synleaw* used two lines later, with a meaning 'moral infirmity'. I would therefore translate 'like the fools who though they really would like to, are prevented by their pride from curing their spiritual infirmities before it is too late'.

23. This has been discussed already by Professor Norman Davis in a review of J. Hedberg, *The Syncope of the Old English Present Endings*, in *R.E.S.*, xxv, pp. 160–1, where he suggests that in the phrase *æftan heaweð* (*Sermo* line 70) a syncopated form of the verb would be rhythmically ineligible. Cf. the remarks of R. J. Menner in a review of the same work, *J.E.G.Ph.*, xlvii, pp. 417–18.

24. See H. J. Chaytor, *From Script to Print*, pp. 13 ff. and references.

25. J. M. Kemble, *Codex Diplomaticus Aevi Saxonici*, vi. 177 (No. MCCCXIV).
 26. In 'Stylistic Features' (see note 1) she cites many examples and discusses similar things in other Germanic languages. There is much illustrative material, curiously interpreted, in E. Sievers, *Metrische Studien*, iv.
 27. I think it is inconceivable that Wulfstan should not have had some familiarity with the classical verse; but whatever the basis of his own style may have been, it is evident that he regarded such verse as no proper or practicable medium for what he had to say, even in his most impassioned and 'poetic' moments, despite the fact that it was not unusual to embody genuine 'poems' in homilies, cf. note 7.

On page 121 I have raised the question of whether Wulfstan knew what Ælfric's metrical intentions were. If he knew the classical verse, one would suppose that he would have seen what Ælfric was about, and there is one curious text which, if it is by Wulfstan, would show quite clearly that he himself tried something of the same kind. This is Napier vi, a most remarkable document. It contains almost nothing in vocabulary which can be shown to be alien to his own usage, nor so far as I am aware has its authenticity been doubted. It is remarkable not only because over large stretches 'half-lines' are joined in pairs by alliteration and even occasionally by rhyme, but because it has a strophic 'chorus' (used ten times, Napier 45^{12, 19}, 46^{2, 10, 22}, 47^{2, 9, 16, 22}, 48³) which goes thus:

Gyt Isaias furðor sæde
 ealswa hit aeode on forsyngodre þeode.

A short passage (Napier 49¹⁸ ff.) will illustrate the style:

eala leofan cild (cwæð ure drihten) gecyrrað ic lære
 and wendað hider to me weorðað on rihtwege
 and beseoð to eowrum drihtne acsjað georne
 hu betst sy to farenne and farað æfter þam wege;
 þonne wyrðe ge geborgene gyt
 gif ge willað þæt ge ne forweorðað.

In this same piece there are passages where the system is spoiled as it is in Napier vii. I print below an example from Napier 49²⁸ ff., using the same conventions as in note 20:

Gehyrað he cwæð. Godes word | **nu ða.** and **doð swa ic lære.** godjað
 georne. |

(then come five whole lines without disturbance followed by)
 ne hæðenscipes gymað. | **on ænige wisan.** eow sylfum to hearne. |
 þonne weorðe ic mid eow. | **cwæð ure drihten.** æfre æt ðearfe. |

The additions here and elsewhere in the text which thus break up the structure of the original are clearly by Wulfstan. But he has only interfered with small sections of the text and I think it likely that the original version was also by him, an experiment which he did not follow up. In any case it is emphatically not an original Ælfric text worked over by him, as vii is.

There are one or two other passages in Napier which have a similar 'whole line' basis, e.g. the Lord's Prayer in xxvi, 125⁷⁻¹⁴, but it is hard to say whether they are by Wulfstan or not. Cf. also Napier 121⁶⁻¹³ (the opening of Wanley's no. 45) of which there is a prose paraphrase in Napier 150²³ ff. and in part at 144³² (cf. Vercelli 113^b). But I am inclined

to doubt whether this is by Wulfstan. The favourite passage 143⁹⁻¹⁵ (cf. 67¹³⁻¹⁶, 112⁶⁻⁷, *Grið* 30 and the opening of *Polity* xxv) seems to be a slight revision by him of something of the same kind.

28. In the Kentish code of Hlophære and Eadric there are numerous traces of the rhythmical pattern which becomes so regular in Wulfstan. The same is true of the code of Ine and, to a lesser extent, of that of Alfred. There are similar features in II Eadwerd and in the laws of Eadgar, and it may be noted that Wulfstan, without violating his own rules, is frequently able to incorporate passages from Eadgar into his own legal works without any alteration. But the *constant* occurrence of the pattern is a characteristic which is absent from the laws written before Wulfstan's time. Of laws belonging to the Anglian area we know little more than that there were some; there is evidence that Offa's code was known to Alfred. But I do not think it likely that they belonged to a different stylistic tradition which paid more attention to rhythmical matters, though it is just possible that these lost laws contributed something to Wulfstan's way of writing. For the laws of Edward and Guthrum see note 1.

29. Napier xxx is such a curiously complicated pastiche that it may be worth saying something about its components. The parts by Wulfstan can, I think, be picked out on rhythmical grounds with a fair degree of accuracy; the rest is by no means homogeneous. The beginning to 144²⁸ seems to me to be Wulfstan's, though as I have suggested (note 27) 143⁹⁻¹⁵ is perhaps no more than a revision of somebody else's work. The passage 144²⁹ to 145⁹ is of a quite different character, and is found in Vercelli f. 113^b; it is not quite ordinary prose, but such rhythmical features as it possesses are not very striking, and the two-stress phrase is not regularly in evidence. It is unlikely that Wulfstan incorporated it here—the pastiche is the work of a later man—and since 143⁹⁻¹⁵ itself seems to interrupt the flow of the text before and after it, it is probable that this too was not placed where it is by Wulfstan.

At 145⁹ begins something which with the slight revision of one line reveals itself clearly as a fragment of a genuine Old English poem:

we syndon deadlice men and to ðuste sceolan
on worulde wurðan wurmum to æte
and of eorðan eft ealle arisan
(MS. eorðan we sceolan eft)
on domes dæge and drihtene sylfum
ætywan eall þæt we ær dydon.

At this point the verse breaks down and a few lines later, 145¹⁵, we continue with the passage from Vercelli 114^b which is rhythmized in something akin to Wulfstan's own manner, though it happens to include in 145³³ ff. a paraphrase of part of the beginning of *An Exhortation to Christian Living* (see note 7). Then from 146⁸ on we have a collection of material from the ninth Vercelli homily and other sources. Not till about 150¹² (or a little earlier?) do we come to material with a Wulfstan ring to it, and everything from there to the end is, I think, probably by him. Yet most of the text from 145¹⁵ to 150¹² is mainly in two-stress phrases not unlike his own, and if Wulfstan knew Vercelli or the tradition it represents, he would have had such models constantly before him.

30. B. Fehr's contention (*Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics*, paragraph 170) that Wulfstan is easy to imitate is very properly challenged by Karl Jost (in a review of Fehr, *Englische Studien* 52, 105 ff.): 'Nach seiner (i.e. Fehr's) meinung ist Wulfstans stil "sehr leicht nachzuahmen"; es bedarf bloss einer reichlichen verwendung von formeln wie: *for ure pearfe, agen, georne, understande se þe cunne*, etc., um beispielsweise einen Ælfrictext in den Wulfstanstil zu übertragen. Persönlich stelle ich mir diese übertragung etwas schwieriger vor; ich vermag nämlich nicht zu glauben, Wulfstans stil sei nichts anderes als Ælfricstil plus häufiges *for ure pearfe, agen*, etc.'
31. Liebermann, *Gesetze*, i. 400, 444, 453.
32. I will make here only a few comments based on rhythmical evidence.
- (a) Napier i: 3¹⁹ to the end (including what is in E) is very characteristic of Wulfstan. The rest is hardly his.
 - (b) Napier xvi: all except the very end is in a shakier rhythm than normal. The passage 98⁸-101¹³ is unlikely to be his, and the homily up to that point, if put together by him, probably consists mainly of material he has revised only slightly.
 - (c) Napier xviii: this is certainly Wulfstan's work; it stands in the same relation to Ælfric's original as Napier vii does to viii (see note 20). For the Ælfric text see J. M. Kemble, *Salomon and Saturnus*, pp. 120 ff., and F. Kluge, *Angelsächsisches Lesebuch* (2nd ed.), p. 76.
 - (d) Napier xxiii: this is probably all his. MS. K has some passages, not found elsewhere, which also seem to be by Wulfstan. The material elsewhere preserved by K alone (e.g. in xxiv and xxvi) usually has an authentic ring.
 - (e) Napier xl: the rhythmical evidence would suggest that Wulfstan contributed the parts from the beginning to 182⁸ and from 188¹¹ to the end.
 - (f) Napier xli: stylistically this resembles vi (see note 27) and I see no reason for doubting that Wulfstan wrote it.
 - (g) Napier xlii: the part from 202⁴ to the end is probably by Wulfstan.
 - (h) An analysis of the rhythmical patterns of the prose of *Polity* puts Wulfstan's authorship of it beyond reasonable doubt, and similar analysis confirms Miss Whitelock's views (see note 1) about the part Wulfstan played in the composition of the laws of Cnut. It also corroborates her opinion that he wrote EGu, and Jost's that he wrote the two *Chronicle* poems of 959 and 975 (see note 6).

ANNUAL LECTURE ON A MASTER MIND

HENRIETTE HERTZ TRUST

LUCRETIVS

By CYRIL BAILEY

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Read 1 June 1949

THE philosopher-poet is an amphibious creature, liable to fall between two stools. Either the matter of his philosophy may choke the well-springs of his poetry, or his poetry may dissipate the substance of his philosophy in a vague beauty of imagery. If he is to be claimed as a 'Master Mind', he must not only in the jargon of the Schools 'satisfy the examiners in both subjects', but it must be shown that their combination results in a true harmony. The problem of the philosopher-poet is in fact part of the wider question: is didactic poetry a living possibility or is it a contradiction in terms? must not the teaching be obscured by its setting, as it is to some extent in the *Georgics*, or the preaching destroy or even preclude poetry, as it does, let me venture to say, in Juvenal?

The Academy has never attempted a definition of a 'Master Mind', but I have reason to believe that it has before now hesitated to admit Lucretius to this very select company, and it is therefore to some degree incumbent on his sponsor to justify his inclusion. He has often been assailed on both the suggested grounds of attack on the philosopher-poet, and his philosophy and his poetry have alike been severely criticized. His philosophy, it is said, was second-hand and at best only the loose-knit thought of a poetical mind; his verse for the most part is an arid exposition of his scientific belief, enlivened here and there, where the poet deserts his philosophy and gives himself rein.

These are the charges which must be considered and, if it may be, answered. A start may be made with Lucretius' own view of himself. In a famous passage in the first Book (i. 931-4), which is repeated in the proem to Book IV, Lucretius claims that he has plucked for himself a new coronal from the Muses' garden,¹ 'first because I teach about great things and hasten to free the mind

¹ primum quod magnis doceo de rebus et artis
religionum animum nodis exsolvere pergo,
deinde quod obscura de re tam lucida pango
carmina, musaeo contingens cuncta lepore.

from the close bondage of religion, then because on a dark theme I build verses so full of light, touching all with the Muses' charm'. His position is explicit; he is primarily a philosopher with a great mission, his poetry is secondary, an allurements to attract the attention of his readers, like the honey, as he goes on to explain, which the physician spreads on the lip of the cup of nasty medicine to deceive children into drinking it. With this attitude he is consistent throughout; he complains (i. 136) of the difficulty of setting out the 'dark discoveries of the Greeks' in Latin verse, and more than once (i. 832; iii. 260) laments the 'poverty of his native tongue'. He is in his own view a philosopher hampered by the restriction of verse; the verse itself is merely an attraction and adornment.

It is strange that criticism at once reversed this view. Lucretius is hailed as a poet by Cicero (*Q. Fr.* ii. 9. 3) when he endorses his brother's criticism that the poems contain both genius and art, and in the next generation the Augustan poets both pronounce their eulogies on his poetry and pay him the compliment of close and frequent imitation. But his philosophy seems to be just neglected. Cicero in the *De Deorum Natura*, the *De Finibus*, and the *Tusculan Disputations* speaks at length and with great disparagement of Epicurus and the Epicureans; but there is never a word of Lucretius as their exponent. Merrill in one of his indefatigable explorations concluded that there is not even a phrase in Cicero's works which can with certainty be said to be borrowed from the poet; even for the cardinal conception of the 'atoms' Cicero has his own word *individua*, rejecting all Lucretius' synonyms (i. 58-61). Yet Cicero is said to have 'emended' the poem. It is not till we come to the Christian Fathers, and to Lactantius in particular, that we find Lucretius recognized as a philosopher, and then he is only introduced in order to be held up to scorn. Throughout the Middle Ages the Church regarded him, like his master, Epicurus, as the 'wicked atheist', and it is characteristic that in one of the two oldest and best manuscripts the greater part of Lucretius' name is erased in the heading, and the new title substituted 'De phisica origine rerum' with no mention of an author. At last in the seventeenth century Gassendi ventured to defy ecclesiastical displeasure and bring Epicurean atomism to light again, and even then, despite his efforts and their obvious influence on the scientists of the day, especially on Boyle and Newton, the old prejudice persisted. Newton adopted the atomic theory, but clothed it in a theological setting; his words are worth quoting for their obvious

similarity to and their marked difference from Lucretius: 'It seems probable to me that God in the beginning formed matter in solid, massy, hard, impenetrable moveable particles; of such sizes and figures, and with such other properties, and in such proportions to space, as most conduced to the end for which He formed them; and that these primitive particles, being solids, are incomparably harder than any porous bodies compounded of them; even so very hard, as never to wear or break in pieces; no ordinary power being able to divide what God himself made One in the first creation.'¹

Among nineteenth-century critics it was perhaps Sellar who first made a serious examination of Lucretius' philosophy, and in the last seventy years or so it has been regarded with much greater respect. For this change there have been two main causes. Firstly, much work has been done on the elucidation of Epicurus' thought, and his system is now seen as a whole and in its parts as a reasoned and in a large degree reasonable explanation of the world. Usener's great collection of *Epicurea*, published in 1887, gave the material for a revaluation, Brieger and Heinze in Germany worked on it, and, most important for the present purpose, Giussani thought it out in direct connexion with Lucretius. Bignone has added much and so has Robin in Ernout's edition. We are in a far better position to-day to judge of the philosophic value of Epicurus' prose and Lucretius' verse. Secondly, the trend of modern scientific investigation in the same period has been towards a more and more elaborated atomism, leading even to the splitting of the atom, which must have made Lucretius turn in his grave. Science is therefore more ready to see something in Lucretius, and, though Professor Andrade in a preface contributed to the re-edition of Munro's notes was patronizing and superior, a recent paper by a physician who has retained his love of the classics hails Lucretius as 'the most modern of the ancient poets'.²

What, then, from this more sympathetic modern standpoint can we say of Lucretius the philosopher? In the first place it must be frankly admitted that he was not an original thinker. He was expounding for the benefit of his Roman contemporaries the atomic philosophy of Epicurus, which he in his turn had founded on the atomism of Democritus. Lucretius treats the system in logical sequence; Book follows Book and paragraph paragraph as

¹ Newton, *Opticks*, p. 375.

² 'Lucretius, the Poet of Our Time', H. St. H. Vertue, *Greece and Rome*, vol. xvii, no. 50, June 1948.

a series of links in a chain. The six Books fall into three groups of two. I and II expound the fundamental conception of an infinite number of small, indivisible bodies (ἄτομοι in Epicurus, the word which we have adopted) moving in space infinite in extent, and by their differences of shape, position, and motion forming, when they combine into nuclei and larger groups, all the 'things' which we know in sensation. So far the atomism of the present day, though it owes much to observation and experiment and would not now accept the chemical atom as the final factor in analysis, has little to quarrel with in the main lines of the system. Nor would it again disapprove of the general procedure of Books V and VI, where the results of the atomic combinations are applied to the formation of the heavenly bodies, to the earth and its products and to the phenomena of the sky, even though many of the theories advanced, largely because the ancients held a geocentric view of the world, now seem unsatisfactory and even puerile. The real difficulty of this materialistic system—and indeed of all thorough-going materialism—is revealed in the middle Books, III and IV, where Lucretius deals with the 'soul' in its twofold aspect, the *anima*, the seat of sensation, and the *animus*, the seat of thought. How can the 'many workings of the mind' be derived from the motions of insensible atoms? Lucretius is obliged just to assume it; when the right atoms are united in the right positions and perform the right motions, then sensation and thought result. And if the structure of the 'soul' does not differ from that of the body, then when at death the body is dissolved, the soul is dissolved with it and thought and sensation perish. 'Death is nothing to us', and delivered from its fears we may join in the great paean on the mortality of the soul with which the third Book concludes. There is a gap somewhere, but so there is in modern materialism which satisfies itself with the idea that sensation and thought are 'epiphenomena'.

Lucretius then follows out his master's system, and so scrupulously that he reproduces some of his strangest speculations, which have always been exposed to criticism. One outstanding example may be cited. Democritus in his physical theory appears to have been an unhesitating determinist, and yet he tacked on to his determinism a fully elaborated ethical theory. But if a man's will and the resulting actions are determined by rigid laws of atomic motion, of what use is it to exhort him to ethical principles and conduct? We do not know what was Democritus' answer to this difficulty, but Epicurus saw it and

was resolved to preserve free-will at all costs. He invented the idea that even the atoms might at unforeseen times swerve spontaneously from the straight path and this 'swerve' (παρέγκλισις, *clinamen*) was the cause of free-will in man. From the earliest times this notion has been a laughing-stock and Cicero in his criticism of Epicurus called it a 'puerile fiction'.¹ Yet Lucretius accepted this notion and carefully expounds it in Book II (216-93), and has drawn ridicule on himself for doing so. But once again there have been modern thinkers who have made the parallel assumption of something corresponding to consciousness in the very atom; I will only quote W. K. Clifford,² who in the last century said that 'a moving molecule of inorganic matter does not possess mind or consciousness, but it possesses a small piece of mind-stuff'. Physics seems now to be tending to substitute 'statistical probability' for law, and J. S. Compton³ in America has argued on that ground for the free-will of man. Epicurus and Lucretius had no doubt allowed a breach in the *foedera naturae*,⁴ and their position is not an easy one to hold, but they do not even in modern times stand alone.

Thus, even where the path is slippery, Lucretius 'plants his feet in his master's footsteps' without hesitation, but he fundamentally differs from him in the practical motive of his poem. It is sometimes said that Epicurus was in reality a moral philosopher and that he only adopted the atomism of Democritus because he felt that he ought to have a physical—or metaphysical—basis for his ethics. This is probably untrue; in the *Letter to Herodotus*, which we possess, the atomic doctrine is set out with such detail and in parts with such subtlety of argument as to show that it was a matter of primary interest, and if we possessed more than mere fragments of the thirty-seven Books *Περὶ Φύσεως* we should without doubt find this amply confirmed. Nor is Epicurus' moral theory just tacked on to the physical system, but it is firmly based upon the same ultimate axiom, the supremacy of αἰσθησις, which not only leads to the belief that the foundation of the physical world lies in the movements of the atoms, but also gives the fundamental principle of ethics. We see that all men—and animals too—seek pleasure; therefore pleasure is not indeed the aim but the inevitable end of conduct. To Epicurus physics and ethics are bound together by sensation and together constitute the content of his philosophy.

¹ Cic. *De Fin.* i. 6. 19, *res tota ficta pueriliter*.

² *Essays and Remains*, vol. ii, pp. 61, 85.

³ *The Freedom of Man*, 1935.

⁴ ii. 254.

But Lucretius shows little care for Epicurus' ethics as a rule of life. Here and there, as in the proem of the second Book and in the attack on sexual love at the end of the fourth, the moral theory comes to the surface; Lucretius' life of devotion to his work and abstention from politics, reinforced by his exhortation to Memmius to follow his example (i. 50-3), is a constant practical illustration of his master's precept *λάθε βιώσας* 'live unnoticed'. There is indeed no place in the poem where Lucretius contradicts or departs from Epicurus' principles of conduct, but it is not for their sake that he sets out the atomic theory. His aim is moral in a wider sense; it is to procure for man complete freedom of the spirit. On the material or physical side, as has been seen, this is secured by the strange theory of the *clinamen*, the swerve of the atoms, which is the cause of spontaneity in the physical world, and gives to the soul of man that self-initiated action, which delivers him from a material determinism. Yet even so there remains to one materially free a supremely cramping and crippling experience that may handicap him at every turn—the experience of fear. If a man is to be truly free, he must be delivered from fear. He may suffer from the fear of his fellow men; this can be avoided—and here Lucretius follows Epicurus closely—not by winning positions of power and authority, but by shunning public life altogether, by surrounding oneself with a bodyguard of friends, and devoting one's mind, if possible with their co-operation, to the study of philosophy.

But the greatest fear that a man can know is the fear of the gods, as expressed in current theological beliefs. Men fear the gods in their life-time because they believe that at any moment they may intervene to thwart and torment them, they fear death because they believe that the soul will survive to be punished for evil actions in life. So potent is this fear of death that it may lead men to all kinds of crimes in life to secure their position, and even, as Lucretius says paradoxically and possibly with a certain presage of his own end, to commit suicide (iii. 59-86). It is to deliver men from these fears that Lucretius wrote the *De Rerum Natura*. Not that, in spite of reiterated statements to that effect by superficial critics, Lucretius was an atheist. He is sure of the existence of the gods and of their immortality; they live in the great interspaces between the worlds, in abodes 'which neither the winds shake nor clouds soak with showers, nor does the snow congealed with biting frost besmirch them with its white fall, but an ever cloudless sky vaults them over, and smiles with light bounteously spread abroad' (iii. 19-22). There they enjoy life

everlasting in perfect peace 'free from all grief, free from danger, lacking naught from us' (ii. 646-50). They possess, in fact, the perfect tranquillity to which man aspires in order to lead 'a life worthy of the gods' (iii. 322); more than this, as Lucretius tells us in a remarkable passage in Book VI (76-8), there flow from the bodies of the gods 'images of their persons' which can enter into man's mind and by a kind of communion fill it with the spirit of tranquillity.

Lucretius is very far from being an atheist. But the whole poem is devoted to refuting the current theology which inculcates the two great fears. Book III is an elaborate argument, containing twenty-nine separate proofs, to show that the soul perishes with the body at death, and the exposition of the atomic system throughout the six Books is the proof that the world is governed by the laws of its atomic constitution without any arbitrary interference from the gods who dwell remote from the turbulence of the atomic whirl. Again and again (ii. 167-81, 1093-104; v. 110-234; vi. 379-422) Lucretius pauses in his exposition to protest passionately against the popular belief in the gods' power over the world. 'They did not create it; it is made so badly' (ii. 180); 'Jupiter does not hurl his thunderbolts at the wicked; why, they often hit the righteous and even his own temples' (ii. 1095-104; vi. 417-20). It is, indeed, this passionate desire to abolish these great fears which sustains him through his long argument and gives coherence and fire to the vast scientific structure. Epicurus too had this desire, but with him it never became the ardent motive which it is to Lucretius.

There is yet another difference between Lucretius and his master which brings one closer to his thought and to his mind as a poet. It has often been pointed out that the great distinction between the methods of the ancient philosophers and modern scientific thinkers lies in the whole conception and practice of experiment. The Greek thinker observed the world as he saw it around him, he reasoned with regard to it, he made far-reaching hypotheses—'guesses' we might rather call them—and tested his hypotheses again by the evidence of his perceptions. But he took his data as he found them and had not the idea of questioning nature, of arranging conditions so that he could see what nature's answer was. Modern science has added experiment to observation; all its subtle analysis is based on experiment, a far more penetrating and effective method. Now it is not quite true that the ancients were entirely unacquainted with experiment; in Lucretius himself here and there a very simple experiment is

recorded. If you press one eyeball with your finger, you see things double (iv. 447); if you rub your fingers on the leaf of a strong-smelling plant, the scent remains on them for a long time, but nothing is visible, which points to an effluence of very small particles (iv. 123); you can see how the image in the mirror reverses right hand and left; if you dash a clay mask, before it is dry, against a post or beam, you will observe the same phenomenon (iv. 292).

But in general, Lucretius, like all other thinkers in antiquity, relies upon observation. So did his master, but there is an immense difference between their methods. In his Letter to his disciple Herodotus, which is the most complete document of Epicurus which we possess, even the process of observation is often omitted; propositions, resting no doubt on observation, and the deductions from them are set out in a logical whole, but a whole that is abstract, intellectual, and arid. Lucretius follows his master's abstract reasoning, but it always presents itself to him in terms of the concrete; not merely is there a wealth of concrete illustrations based on the appeal to sensation and perception for verification, but the very abstract propositions come to his mind in concrete terms. The atoms are in everlasting motion in the void; this is like the motes in the sunbeam with their meetings and clashes and separations and unions in small nuclei; indeed the atomic unions are stages in the formation of the motes, when at last atomic particles become large enough and move slowly enough to be perceived (ii. 112-41). Or again, the atoms are without secondary qualities, sound, smell, heat, and cold; they form the substratum of things just like the scentless oil which perfume-makers use as the substratum of their scents (ii. 847-53). The atoms have many different shapes; look at the races of animals and even the species of inanimate things and observe their differences (ii. 333-80). Again and again Lucretius bursts into these illustrations based on observation, which not only give scope for his poetic description, but communicate his teaching by the method of mental visualization which was so largely his own practice in thought. This is a very different method from that of the Epicurus whom we know in the Letters and the fragments.

But is Lucretius' treatment original? Are these illustrations based on the poet's own observation or were they handed down to him by tradition? Here and there we can detect a source behind the poet. In the sixth Book, for instance, where Lucretius enumerates and discusses the various theories which had been

put forward to account for the meteorological phenomena of the sky, a recently discovered Arabic document, probably a summary of Theophrastus, affords a close parallel to Lucretius' process of exposition and not infrequently supplies just the illustrations which he uses. Here two points must be noticed. In the first place these are not in most cases Lucretius' own explanations of the phenomenon in question, but they go right back to the Greek philosophers who set them out with their own illustrations. Secondly, the brief and prosaic statements of the Arabic summary are expanded with Lucretius' own vision. Again in the description of the plague of Athens at the end of Book VI (1138-286) Lucretius is following Thucydides closely with the occasional addition of a touch from Hippocrates. In one other passage it is almost certain that Lucretius is carefully following a Greek original. In the course of his attack on the passion of love the poet speaks of the absurd endearing nicknames which lovers give to their beloved. In ten lines (iv. 1160-9) there are no less than fourteen Greek words, including the unaltered verb *traulizi*; the conclusion is inevitable that he was adapting a Greek original and almost certainly a poem, for it would not be hard to retranslate the lines into Greek.

But in the vast bulk of the poem it is not possible to work back to such sources of Lucretius' imagery, and the freshness and vividness of his painting point rather to his own observation. There are at least two instances in which it is possible to show that the image cannot anyhow have been borrowed from Epicurus, or indeed from any source before the poet's own time. In Book V (510-16) Lucretius explains the rotatory motion of the *mundus* by supposing that two 'airs' hold it in position at the poles, and then another 'air' either moving above turns the heavens in the direction in which we see them move or by moving beneath in the opposite direction produces the same result, 'as we see streams moving round wheels with their scoops'. Now the water-wheel is not mentioned before Strabo (xii. 556) and was certainly unknown in Italy before the first century B.C. Again (vi. 108-10) one of the causes of thunder may be that the clouds 'give forth a sound over the levels of the spreading firmament, as often an awning stretched over a great theatre gives a crack, as it tosses among the posts and beams'. Now we are definitely told that awnings in the theatre were introduced by Q. Catulus in 78 B.C. Here, surely, we have undoubted cases where Lucretius' illustrations cannot have been traditional, for the objects did not exist till his own day. Yet even here modern

critics¹ will not allow him originality, but suppose him to have derived his images from the 'younger Epicureans' among his contemporaries. Lucretius was a greater man than they and, though proof is lacking, I believe that in these and many other of his gloriously vivid illustrations the poet was drawing on his own keen observation of the world around him. His love of nature is everywhere obvious, and it is a spontaneous, not a borrowed or imitated love.

For Lucretius is a poet and a poet whose primary characteristics are just the passion and the visualization which have already been noticed. And so we pass to the second part of our inquiry. When one considers the *De Rerum Natura* broadly and as a whole, it is just these two qualities which give it its continuous poetic quality. The passion for the conversion of his countrymen to the materialist philosophy of atomism is the cause of the high poetry of the great anti-theological protests. The same motive leads Lucretius sometimes to passages of poetic irony. We may think of the picture (iii. 776-83) of the 'immortal souls', such as his opponents postulate, wrangling for the right of entry into a newly formed body and the sarcastic conclusion that perhaps they settle their dispute on the principle of 'first come, first served'. Or the bitter address of nature later on in the third Book (931-51) to the man who is unwilling to die, culminating in the violent attack on the old man who resents the approach of death: 'away with tears, thou villain, set a bridle on thy laments' (iii. 955). Yet for all his protests and irony—and this is an indication of a sensitive poetic temperament—from time to time Lucretius seems to 'cast a longing, lingering look' at the religion which he has left behind. He rejects, but recounts with obvious fondness, the Roman ritual of prayer (v. 1198-202), and in lines reminiscent of a famous saying of Kant admits that when we gaze on the starry heavens and watch the regular motions of the heavenly bodies, there comes over us the old belief that this is the work of the gods (1204-10). It is all brushed aside—'true piety is to be able to contemplate all things with a tranquil mind', but for a moment the poet seems to let us have a glimpse of the 'doubting mind' which he condemns. Patin² has called this the 'Anti-Lucrèce chez Lucrèce'; it is there, but we must be careful not to exaggerate it; it is far outweighed by his normal materialist outlook.

¹ W. Lück, *Die Quellenfrage in 5 und 6 Buch des Lukrez*, 1932, pp. 39-42, 82.

² H. Patin, *Études sur la poésie latine*, c. vii, 1868.

Some critics have suspected a lapse from true Epicurean orthodoxy in the address to Venus with which the poem opens. If the gods do not interfere in the world, how can Lucretius speak of Venus as the author of all the joys of spring and pray her to assist him in his task, begging Mars to give peace to Rome that Memmius may have leisure to study his friend's poem? For a long while editors followed a suggestion of Marullus, made explicit by Isaac Vossius, that the description of the tranquil life of the gods (44-9), which occurs again in Book II (646-51), was not written here by Lucretius, but inserted by an 'interpolator irrisor' to show the poet's inconsistency. But more recent criticism based on a consideration of the poem as a whole holds, and I believe rightly, that Venus in the first part of the poem really stands for the creative power of nature, resulting from the passion of love. So in the fourth Book, when Lucretius has explained the physical causes of sexual love, he adds *haec Venus est nobis* (iv. 1057). In the later lines of the poem (i. 29-43) Venus and Mars stand for the principles of peace and war, modelled on Empedocles' Love and Strife, and the debated lines come in naturally to show that it is the gods, enjoying perfect peace, who can at least be the models for human peace. There is no doubt a concession to popular mythology and the picture of Mars and Venus—translated much later into a famous painting by Botticelli—is, like all Lucretius' visions, concrete in form. But there is no real inconsistency, any more than there is in the sudden introduction of Calliope in Book VI (94), or in such popular phrases as (v. 1156) 'even though he escapes the notice of gods and men'. Lucretius can use traditional phraseology about the gods, but he is not fundamentally inconsistent.

Thus, Lucretius' ardent advocacy of his creed, his *furor arduus*, as Statius called it, is manifested in many explicit passages and is never really absent. More than this, it is in fact the main-spring of his poetry which sustains him through the long argument, which might otherwise flag and become flat. For when we look at the context of the anti-theological protests, we see that they are in fact reinforcements of the argument, intended probably to confirm his own belief as much as to win the assent of his readers. Nature works by its own laws, not by divine guidance. For how could any divine being have time to regulate the world and be present in all its parts at once (ii. 1090-105)? the gods cannot have made the world for man's pleasure; why should they, what would it have hurt us if the human race had never been created? (v. 156-80). And after such outcries the

poet returns with renewed strength to his argument, moving on from one point to another till he finds himself stirred once again to combat theological belief. One feels that Lucretius *incedit per ignis suppositos*; his fiery ardour is always just below the surface, passion is never far away.

Nor is the poet less clearly seen in the method of his argument. Editors, especially since the re-establishment of Epicurus as a reputable thinker, have been apt to demand from the *De Rerum Natura* the logical accuracy and sequence of a modern scientific treatise. To secure this they have played havoc with the text, transposing lines and passages, excising verses, supposing lacunae and additions by the poet himself, until they have rewritten it all to satisfy their requirements. This tendency reached its climax in the edition of Giussani at the end of last century; just because he, more than any other critic, had been able to expound Lucretius' thought on lines that would satisfy the modern mind, he laid the poem on the bed of Procrustes and hacked it and rearranged it till large tracts of it are hardly recognizable. This is to do violence not only to the text, but also to the mind of Lucretius—for that is in the main not logical, but visual. He saw his argument not as a series of abstract propositions, but as a succession of concrete pictures. Look, for instance, at the latter part of Book V (925–1457), where he is describing the growth of civilization. It starts with the picture of primitive man, remarkable in those days when the belief in the golden age was still lingering, living a life 'nasty, short and brutish', among the hardships of nature, feeding on the berries and drinking from the streams, fighting against winds and rains and the attacks of wild beasts. In the next picture, skins have been discovered for clothing and rough huts for shelter, and a 'social contract' has produced a vague community life. Language was then invented by nature and utility, men expressing different feelings and thoughts by different sounds, as do the beasts and even the birds. The use of metals was learned from seeing them melted by the sun, agriculture from watching nature, music from the cries of birds or the moaning of the wind among the rushes. For 500 lines this wonderful gallery is continued, and each picture, the small vignette and the large canvas, is a work of perfect artistry.

It might be said that in such a history the picturesque method was natural and inevitable. But the same vision may be found at almost any place in the poem. Take the start of the proof that the soul is mortal (iii. 425–32). The soul is composed of particles far smaller than those which make water or smoke; for it can be

moved far more speedily than they. Mark the subtle use of this picture here: 'for indeed it is moved by images of smoke and cloud, even as when slumbering in sleep we see altars breathing steam on high and sending up their smoke'. The dream of steam and smoke is used not only to bring out the concrete picture, but to enforce the argument; the soul can be moved by the dream-image of these very things whose speed of motion it surpasses. Sometimes the picture is painted in a single word. Just after the passage quoted (iii. 436) Lucretius concludes that at death the soul must be dissolved 'like smoke'. Later (iii. 612-14) he argues that if the soul were immortal it would not lament its death, 'but rather rejoice that it went forth and left its slough, as does a snake'; *ut anguis* transforms argument into picture. These two pictures recur in combination in the demonstration of the 'idols' given off from things, which are the cause of sight. Here the proof is by analogy and the analogy is the ground for the picture: the 'idols' are like the visible bodies thrown off by things 'in part scattered loosely abroad, even as wood gives off smoke and fires heat, and in part more closely knit and packed together, as when grasshoppers lay aside their smooth coats in summer, and . . . the slippery serpent rubs off its vesture on the thorns' (iv. 54-61).

It is just this quality of vision which gives their poetic beauty to those passages where Lucretius has always been reckoned among the greatest of poets—the proems to all the Books, the hymn at the end of Book III where he exults in the mortality of the soul, and many lesser passages in which the artist seems to prevail over the thinker. And it is just because of these visions that critics have been inclined to perceive two styles in Lucretius, the high poetic and the arid philosophic. And since a large part of the poem is what they would call 'scanning prose', they are inclined to deny to Lucretius the name of a great poet. Now that there are differences of poetic intensity in various parts of the poem it would be impossible to deny, nor would it perhaps be enough to plead that there are such in all great sustained poems, or within the movements of a great symphony. For in Lucretius the contrast is more marked. If one applies the test of poetic technique, it will be seen that in the more wrought-up passages there is a freer use of archaic forms, of alliteration and assonance, of artificial *enjambement* between line and line than in the more argumentative sections. But a reply may be made on two grounds: in the first place there is even in the less heightened passages an exactness of expression, a choice of the *mot juste* and the 'cunning

juncture'—the *ars* which Cicero saw in the poem as contrasted with the *ingenium* of its greater moments—which has a high poetic quality of its own. Secondly, if with the poet himself we may hold that the primary purpose is the setting forth of the system and may therefore take the 'scanning prose' as normal, it is right that we should regard the lofty peaks of Lucretius' poetry as a heightening of the normal, rather than the argumentative sections as a falling away. The *De Rerum Natura* is indeed like an undulating country in which hills and sometimes mountains rise from the level of the plain and then sink down to it once more. The reader is not the professional climber who regards the valley road as dull, but the explorer pursuing his way, exalted from time to time to a great height and a wide view, but content to resume his course upon the plain. This was well put by an eighteenth-century poet:¹

Rough weary roads through barren wilds he tried
Yet still he marches with true Roman pride:
Sometimes a meteor, gorgeous, rapid, bright
He streams across the philosophic night.

What, then, is this 'style' capable of such variations in intensity, which, however much his claim as a philosopher is doubted, however much his normal mode of writing may be disparaged, has always won for Lucretius the respect due to a 'sublime' poet, as Ovid called him? It is in fact something unique in Latin and indeed in the literature of the world. He had as his models in philosophic poetry the two Greeks, Parmenides and Empedocles. With the former he had little in common, though his theory was in fact a close predecessor of atomism; for the latter he had a profound admiration (i. 716–33), and as far as we can judge from the fragments of Empedocles which have reached us, the intention of a close general imitation. In Latin the one existing didactic poem was Cicero's translation of Aratus, the Alexandrian astrologist—a specialist and pedestrian work which nevertheless often supplied Lucretius with phraseology. His great predecessor in the use of the Latin hexameter was of course Ennius, to whom, despite the disparity of their subjects, Lucretius owed very much. He thus had antecedents and even models, but his style had to be his own, not only because of the singularity of his subject, but because Latin was then in a fluid state, and it was necessary for him to take his share in hammering out the diction of poetry, just as his contemporary, Cicero,

¹ J. Armstrong, *Taste*, 1753.

had to form, and did form with greater finality, the language of prose.

This is no place to examine in detail the many elements of diction which are embedded in Lucretian poetry, the archaisms of form, which add a unique dignity to his lines—*fera moenera militiai* (i. 29), *amittunt vera viai* (i. 659), the great compound adjectives, which later Latin restricted, though it did not reject, *laetificus* (i. 193), *glandiferus* (v. 939), *multangula* (iv. 654), and the most picturesque of them all *anguimanus elephantos* (ii. 537); the alliteration and assonance, sometimes almost childish in its profusion, more often restrained and massive in its effect, *flam-mantia moenia mundi* (i. 73), *vivida vis animi pervicit* (i. 72), *placidi pellacia ponti* (ii. 559). 'Devices', 'ornaments' these might be called, but they are so woven into the texture of the verse that they have become its flesh and sinews. And behind and underneath are the bones which make its structure and bind it together, those Lucretian hexameters which, standing like his diction in a transitional position between the rough-hewn lines of Ennius and the polished verses of Virgil, have developed their own peculiar rhythm and roll. Once again it is possible to dissect and analyse—to point to the spondaic word standing out in isolation in the fourth foot—*quae mare navigerum, quae terras frugiferentis* (i. 3), the long words at the end of the line, quadrisyllables *rerum novitatem* (i. 139), pentasyllables *principiorum, materiai*, and long spondaic words, *ostendebat* (i. 64), or at the other extreme monosyllables *perculsae corda tua vi* (i. 13), *insinuet se* (i. 111), *materies est* (i. 245). But these peculiarities are likewise not ornaments—or from the Virgilian point of view disfigurements—but essential elements in a peculiar structure which gives to the Lucretian hexameter its own rough magnificence, the metre which exactly corresponds to and is inseparable from the diction and indeed the subject.

An attempt has been made to look at Lucretius first as philosopher and then as poet. What, then, of the combination, the philosopher-poet? Are his two sides united in a true harmony? When all is said and done, it must be admitted that there is a certain tension. It is not, as he thought himself, that the exposition of his philosophy is hindered by his poetry—by the constraint of verse. For so great is his supreme capacity for exposition, for the choice of the right word and the right visual image, that he completely overcomes his own imagined difficulty. It was, for instance, a metrical godsend to him that the word in which Anaxagoras had summed up the essence of his theory,

homoeomeria, 'the likeness of the parts', happened to scan at the end of a hexameter line, but the word is not nearly so lucid as Lucretius' explanation, which follows, of the Greek thinker's meaning (i. 835-42). The tension is rather on the other side. For all his observation, for all his mental visualization, for all his love of nature, for all the beauty of his language, the philosopher does now and then weigh heavily on the poet, and one can almost hear the sigh of relief with which he turns to a descriptive passage or the interruption of the argument in a glorious outburst of illustration or of indignation.

Yet even out of this tension is born an ultimate harmony. We have hitherto proceeded by analysis, and that analysis has resulted in showing that the two elements which are characteristic of Lucretius' thought, the ardour of conviction and the mental visualization, are also the mainsprings of his poetry. The philosophy gains by the essential vividness of its poetic exposition, and becomes more cogent through the passion of its motive and the picturesque method of its setting. The poetry is, as it were, fixed and focused by the logical structure of the philosophy. It may safely be said of Lucretius that the style is the man. Here is the synthesis, and if the poem is read, as it should be, in the light of it and the vital combination always held in mind, Lucretius is seen to be neither a philosopher before a poet, nor a poet before a philosopher, but a philosopher-poet, a supreme example not only of the possibility of that composite personality, but of its potential greatness. A better proof could hardly be offered than the view held by a nineteenth-century critic that Lucretius, the poet, in search of a theme, lit upon the atomic philosophy; the manifest absurdity of this view reveals the truth of its opposite. Others have attempted a similar combination; in our own times Wordsworth and Tennyson, though in both the poet overwhelmed the thinker. The only poem in English which has ever seemed to me comparable with the *De Rerum Natura* is *The Testament of Beauty*—*longo sed proximus intervallo*. And perhaps the nearest parallel to Lucretius the philosopher-poet is the poet-philosopher Plato, though with him the balance and the emphasis are different.

The synthesis might be put from another angle. Lucretius was not an original thinker; he did not work out a system for himself, but followed faithfully in his master's steps. He was not a Master Mind in the sense of being a pioneer and evolving a system which has influenced the world's thought. But Epicurus' system passed through his mind and came out as some-

thing different, something richer and more appealing. And this was not merely due, as he seemed to think himself, to its exposition in verse. It was that Epicureanism had been distilled in the alembic of a poet's mind and given a prophet's sense of mission and a poet's transmutation of argument into argumentative vision. Lucretius was like some painter who, taking what might seem to others a dull and barren landscape, transforms it by selection and composition into a great work of art. It was indeed a dry and featureless landscape which he found in the writings of Epicurus; in Lucretius' hands it has become a thing of beauty. The greatness of his mind is shown not alone in his power of thought, not alone in his poetic gift, but precisely in doing what he has done and setting out a systematic argument in a great poem.

What manner of man then was the author of this unique poem? Unfortunately we know very little of his life and character, and conjecture has been rife on every point. We can say with certainty that he was born in the nineties of the last century B.C., that he lived through the stormy times of Sulla and died in the fifties when a still greater storm was brewing. Though he probably moved in the literary and social circles of Rome, obedient to his master's command, he withdrew himself from public life and so devoted himself to his task that even in his dreams, as he tells us, 'I seek for the nature of things at all times and set it forth when found in writings in our country's tongue' (iv. 969-70). Only one explicit statement has come down to us, and that is the strange story recorded by St. Jerome that Lucretius was poisoned by a love-philtre, wrote the poem in his lucid intervals and finally committed suicide. There is no hint of this in earlier writers, and certainly no love-potion could be so strong as to last for all the years which the poem must have taken to write, and then, coming on with supreme violence, lead to suicide. It may be that it was the final cause of his death, and there is undoubtedly a melancholy strain at times in the poem, especially when the poet is describing the effects of *religio* and the fear of death. Some critics have seen this in the contrast between the opening and close of the poem, the gay, brilliant picture of Venus at work in spring throughout creation, bringing all things to birth, and the dreary gloom of the plague at Athens, shedding death on man and beast. This is not, it is argued, the expression of the true Epicurean temperament, 'dancing round the world', as Epicurus said, 'in unclouded happiness at the release from fear'. There is a contrast, as we have the poem, but

there is good reason to suppose that Lucretius had in mind to pass to a picture of the supreme happiness of the gods in their tranquil abodes—the example and the ideal for man. Melancholy there was, and, as has been seen, a certain struggle too between Lucretius' philosophic creed and a lingering affection for the old beliefs and practices. But this has been much exaggerated by critics; a recent psycho-analyst¹ of Lucretius believes that this 'mental fight' was always present in the poet's mind, and is even the reason why he so often uses military metaphors. No, he uses them firstly because he was writing a contentious poem, secondly, because he was a Roman, to whom it came naturally to see his master, Epicurus, returning as *victor* from his invasion of the skies (i. 75), just as it was natural to describe the limit of creative possibility in nature as a 'deep-set boundary stone' (i. 77). Lucretius was a faithful disciple, and if his temperament, inclined to melancholy and possibly also to a certain mysticism, prevented him from finding that complete happiness which his mind presupposed, in a thorough-going materialism, yet he could and did muster all the forces of his art to persuade others to look for it there and to help them to find it. It is in this single-mindedness, which triumphs over obstacles and set-backs, that the ultimate harmony of the *De Rerum Natura* is manifested.

Lucretius stands out for us like some great peak of rock and snow from surrounding foothills. In hollows and crannies of the mountain may be found gathered clumps of flowers, gay and sombre groups, but the true natural artistry is everywhere, in the structure of the ribs and ridges, in their curves and intersecting lines. He may be claimed as a Master Mind not only for his thought, not only for his poetry, but for his unique achievement in welding them together in a massive and magnificent whole.

¹ M. Rozelaar, *Lukrez*, Amsterdam, 1943.

ASPECTS OF ART LECTURE
PAINTINGS IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY
AND CONTEMPORARY PAINTINGS

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THE paintings in Westminster Abbey and contemporary paintings is not a new subject. It has interested most English medievalists at one time or another, and in the present century the Westminster paintings have been examined by such authorities as W. R. Lethaby, M. R. James, and W. G. Constable.¹ Any startling new evidence cannot, therefore, be expected. At the same time there are a few aspects of it which can be looked at again. The trouble about these paintings is that, although they are often of very good quality, they are both scanty and damaged. This makes it difficult to interpret and sometimes dangerous to use them for stylistic comparison. In these circumstances any conclusions drawn about them will be tentative and some may be considered controversial. All that can be attempted is to take a few of the painted works of art in the Abbey and try to see in the light of other objects how they fit into the general picture of English medieval painting.

From the tenth to the end of the twelfth century no important Westminster paintings survive. There is, moreover, no evidence of a great collection of manuscripts there comparable to those in the libraries of the two monasteries at Canterbury or in the important abbeys of St. Albans or Bury St. Edmunds. It is, however, dangerous to assume that no manuscripts were produced there in the twelfth century. It was after all an important abbey enjoying the special favour of both the Confessor and Henry II and it must not be forgotten that it suffered at least one devastating fire in 1298 when many of its possessions must have been lost.² The Westminster customary also quotes passages concerning the care and writing of books.³ Unless we are

¹ For the bibliography of the Westminster paintings, see E. W. Tristram, *English Medieval Wall Painting, The Thirteenth Century*, Oxford 1950, i, pp. 65-159; 561-77.

² See H. F. Westlake, *Westminster Abbey*, p. 321, xxvii, n. 6.

³ See J. Armitage Robinson and M. R. James, *The Manuscripts of Westminster Abbey*, pp. 1-4.

to consider these as mere ideal precepts they do argue an interest in the production and decoration of books in the twelfth century.

The first important painted object connected with Westminster Abbey is a Psalter in the British Museum, Royal MS. 2A. xxii. Its provenance is undoubted since the calendar is certainly a Westminster one, and it seems to have remained there during the Middle Ages, as it is mentioned in inventories of 1388 and 1540.¹ The original decoration of the manuscript consists of five full-page miniatures, zodiac pictures in roundels, and a number of decorated initials, some of which contain figures. There can be no doubt that two hands worked on the decoration, the five full-page miniatures being by a more accomplished artist. The writing and decoration are both contemporary and date from about the year 1200.

The style of the artist of the full-page miniatures is that of someone trained in a phase of twelfth-century painting which developed in England in such manuscripts as the later hands of the Winchester Bible and the late-twelfth-century copy of the Utrecht Psalter, made probably at Christ Church, Canterbury, and now in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.² In the Westminster miniatures the figures are sturdier than in either the Winchester Bible or the Psalter in Paris. In this characteristic they approximate more closely to manuscripts made about 1200 in the north of France, particularly the manuscripts decorated at the abbey of Saint Bertin at Saint Omer. A number of Saint Bertin manuscripts of this period have survived. Probably the best examples of these is a fine Bible now in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris.³ The style of these manuscripts, both the English and the St. Bertin, derives ultimately from Byzantine painting, but it has lost some of that exotic emaciation traditionally connected with Byzantine art. This emaciation has been replaced by a robust 'classical' quality which, though short-lived, exercised a profound influence on Gothic art. Miniatures with similar 'classical' figures exist in certain late-twelfth-century Canterbury manuscripts, and also in French manuscripts such as the Ingeburg Psalter in the

¹ See G. F. Warner and J. P. Gilson, *Catalogue of Western MSS. in the Old Royal and King's Collections*, i, pp. 36-8.

² Paris, Bibl. Nat., fonds latins 8846, see H. Omont, *Psautier Illustré, xiii^e siècle*.

³ Paris, Bibl. Nat., fonds latins 16746, see Ph. Lauer, *Les Enluminures Romanes des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, pl. lxxxv, 2.

Musée Condé at Chantilly.¹ The English manuscript which shows best this Byzantine influence and its subsequent development is the Winchester Bible. It was begun in the middle of the twelfth century and work seems to have been continued on it for at least half a century. The latest hand belongs to this period of 'classical' Gothic and is probably contemporary with the paintings in the Westminster Psalter.² The 'classical' style of the Westminster Psalter is best seen in the miniatures of Christ in Glory. It will be seen at once that on comparison with the contemporary miniatures in the Winchester Bible the figures are sturdier renderings of the same style.

A second hand illuminated the historiated initials in the Westminster Psalter. Compared with the painter of the five full-page miniatures this artist was far less accomplished and was very little influenced by the classical qualities of his companion. It might be suggested that the five miniatures are the work of an artist who was not a member of the Westminster community, but that the second hand is that of a Westminster monk. The elaborate B at the beginning of the Psalter contains amongst other motives the little jumping white lions which have been thought to denote Canterbury influence, but they are found on both sides of the Channel and were probably importations from Southern Italy, since they were a favourite element in the decoration of earlier manuscripts from Benevento and Monte Cassino.³

At the end of the Westminster Psalter, an artist of the middle of the thirteenth century has added five tinted drawings in an extremely distinctive style.⁴ There is no reason for doubting that these drawings were made at Westminster, though they are manifestly later than the miniatures and the rest of the decoration of the manuscript. They are equally certainly related to the group of manuscripts, some of which were made at St. Albans and which have been assigned to the hand of Matthew Paris himself.⁵ The choice of the subjects of these drawings is

¹ Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS. 1695 (Cat. No. 9), see *New Palaeographical Society*, Series ii, pl. 175, 176.

² For a discussion of the word 'classical' as used here, see R. Hinks, '“Classical” and “Classicistic” in the Criticism of Ancient Art', in *Kritische Berichte zur kunstgeschichtlichen Literatur*, vi (1937), pp. 94-108.

³ For manuscripts from Monte Cassino with decoration of small white dogs which could be easily transformed into lions, see E. A. Lowe, *Scriptura Beneventa*, Oxford, 1929, ii, pls. lxxviii (1072), lxx (1072-1086), lxxi.

⁴ ff. 219b, 220, 220b, 221, 221b.

⁵ M. R. James, 'The Drawings of Matthew Paris', in *The Walpole*

not clear. First, there is a standing king on the verso of the leaf (f. 219b), on the recto of the opposite leaf is a kneeling knight who lifts his hands towards the king. On the verso is St. Christopher and opposite to him the figure of an archbishop. With the exception of St. Christopher none of them can be identified. Dr. James considered that the king might represent Offa since he appears to have been convinced that the whole manuscript was a St. Albans production: his main argument being that we do not know of a flourishing Westminster scriptorium in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and that the manuscript was consequently made at St. Albans for Westminster. It is, however, difficult to imagine that a book which was made for Westminster should have been conveniently returned to the St. Albans scriptorium for the later additions to be made. This does not mean that these Westminster drawings are not stylistically connected with 'Matthew Paris'. They certainly are. But we must be cautious in assuming that this particular style was confined to St. Albans artists. It is rather the equivalent in drawing to a style found in a number of manuscripts in full colour which are by no means easily ascribed to St. Albans or for that matter to any other definitely localized workshop. The finest of these manuscripts, and in some ways nearest to this group of drawings, is the Cambridge Apocalypse in Trinity College, Cambridge (MS. R. 16. 2), which Dr. James tentatively gave to St. Albans, though its origin cannot be satisfactorily demonstrated.

These drawings do, in fact, belong to the great tradition of English medieval drawing which has its origin in the tenth century and continues unbroken until the fifteenth century. Their particular style was developing in the first half of the thirteenth century through such manuscripts as a Bestiary in the University Library at Cambridge and the Guthlac Roll in the British Museum.¹ Reflections of it are found in the wonderful

Society, xiv, 24-6, pls. xxvii-xxix. There must always be some doubt that any of these drawings can actually be ascribed to the hand of the chronicler himself. The main difficulty arises from the fact that in B.M. Royal MS. 14 C. VII, f. 218 b, there is a representation of Matthew Paris dead. Admittedly it is uncertain whether this drawing is by the same hand as the rest of the drawings. What does seem clear is that all these drawings fall into one group. The drawings in Royal MS. 2 A. XXII are closest in style to those in the *Lives of the Offas*, B.M. Cotton MS. Nero D 1.

¹ Cambridge, University Library, MS. KK. 4. 25, see particularly f. 18 b. The Guthlac Roll, B.M. Harley Roll, y. 6, is related but is probably rather earlier than the Cambridge MS. I wish to thank Dr. Otto Pächt for drawing my attention to the Cambridge MS.

bosses in the old Muniment Room in Westminster Abbey.¹ It is in fact the English style of the first half of the thirteenth century and must be carefully distinguished from the next important phase of English thirteenth-century art, when instead of a style based upon English traditions, the influence of French art becomes predominant.

There is another most important monument in Westminster Abbey which should be connected with the drawings discussed just now. Between 1253 and 1258 the great tiled pavement was laid in the Chapter House.² The connexion between the Westminster pavement and the tiles found at Chertsey and Hailes has been recognized for a long time. The connexion between the style of drawing on these tiles and the drawings just discussed is equally clear. We can, therefore, place the Psalter drawings side by side with the Chertsey and Chapter House tiles and regard them as good indications of what the style was towards the middle of the thirteenth century which influenced the artists working at and for Westminster.

In the earlier miniatures we saw the 'classical' Gothic style in the best early thirteenth-century manner. In the drawings we see this 'classical' style worked out in terms of the traditional outline style. Thus the drawings need not necessarily be importations. They are rather indications of the vigorous activity of Westminster artists during the first part of the reign of Henry III.

During the second half of the thirteenth century the style of the Westminster painters underwent a profound change. This can best be described as a transition from a style predominantly and traditionally English, like the drawings and the figures on the Chapter House tiles, to another in which French art is of overwhelming importance. This French influence is easier to see than describe, though even here we are handicapped by having no monumental French paintings which can be compared with the Westminster paintings which are about to be discussed. Contemporary French style is, however, accessible in the form of figure sculpture, ivory carving, and illuminated manuscripts. All these show that gracious elegance which is the

¹ Reproduced from photographs by R. P. Howgrave-Graham in L. E. Tanner, *Unknown Westminster Abbey*, Penguin Books, 1948, pls. 22, 23.

² Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, *London*, i (Westminster Abbey), 81 a, also W. R. Lethaby in *Walpole Society*, ii, pp. 78-80. For the related Chertsey tiles see R. S. Loomis, *Illustrations from Medieval Romance on Tiles from Chertsey Abbey*, University of Illinois, 1916.

characteristic of the best French work. It is an elegance which is disciplined by a sense of form and which does not at its best degenerate into a facile prettiness. In painting and miniature painting this characteristic French elegance does not appear in France at a date very much earlier than it does in England. One is therefore faced with the problem as to whether both in France and England this French 'elegance' is not a natural artistic development common to both countries and a refinement of the earlier 'classical' Gothic. Nevertheless, there is at Westminster undoubted French influence in its architecture, so that it is not unreasonable to assume it for the painting as well. The importance of French art at this time was not confined to the abbey but extended to the art of the court of Henry III. This has recently been demonstrated in a most valuable article in the *Architectural Review* by Mr. Maurice Hastings who has shown that in such buildings as St. Stephen's Chapel there was much inspiration from French, and probably Parisian, art.¹

Three important paintings survive in the Abbey which show this 'French' style: the figure of St. Faith in St. Faith's Chapel, the retable, and the paintings on the wall of the South transept. None of these monuments is precisely dated, nor have any documents yet come to light which give us any certain information about the artists who painted them. Any comments on them are subjective and controversial. Of these three the most English in style is the painting in St. Faith's Chapel. Yet compared with the drawings on the tiles it has much more French influence. It shows the saint as a tall statuesque form covered with characteristically flowing drapery. This beautiful figure has been called by Lethaby 'the most romantic work of art in London'. By its position and grandeur it is certainly one of the most impressive medieval paintings in England. Lethaby suggested a date of about 1270 to 1275 and attributed the work to Master William, monk of Westminster, but, alas, no work of this artist can be identified and a comparison with a head of a king in the cloisters at Windsor Castle which may be Master William's work is not at all convincing.²

By far the most important thirteenth-century painting at Westminster is the retable which for many years has been

¹ J. M. Hastings, 'The Court Style', in *The Architectural Review*, cv (Jan. 1949), pp. 3-9. This article is particularly useful for the discussion of architectural relationships.

² Cf. E. W. Tristram, *op. cit.*, ii, supplementary plates 12, 18. The head at Windsor appears to be of a slightly earlier date than the St. Faith.

thought to have been made for the High Altar of the Abbey.¹ There is no proof of this, but it has been considered so, because the dimensions fit exactly into the space behind the altar. One small consideration may possibly tend to contradict this opinion. However superb the workmanship the retable is not made of precious metal and the enamels and gems which decorate it are gesso and coloured glass. When we remember how rich and sumptuous Westminster Abbey was in the thirteenth century, we have a right to question whether the High Altar would not have been decorated with precious metals and jewels and not with their copies.

In fact, nothing certain is known about the retable until about 1725, when George Vertue wrote in his note-book:

Over Abbot Islips Chappel was one large press made in Queen Elizabeth's tyme not earlyer to put in several effigies remaining in the Abbey on the top of which press is a most curious piece of painted carved gilded work, finely embellished (which to me seems to have been) an altar front, but being partly defaced after the reformation manner was put up here and serves for the top of this great press. in this Altar table being 12 foot long or more and 3 foot high is divided into 5 paines.²

There then follows a rough sketch. Vertue then continues:

In the first is represented St. Peter standing with the keys in his hand, in the fift is St. Paul with the sword, in the middle paine Christ standing & the Virgin Mary on the right and another (St. Elizabeth) on the left. 2 & 4 is fill'd up with beautiful ornaments & in each in four divisions is so many scripture stories represented, the frame and bordures being beautifully adorn'd & gilt.

From 1725 the retable was not lost sight of, though it was not until 1827 that it emerged as a work of first-class importance. Since then its provenance and date have been discussed constantly. Finally, the consensus of opinion is that it is either French or English in origin and that it dates from the second half of the thirteenth century. This is a rather unsatisfactory state of affairs.

When one is first confronted with the retable one is struck by its resemblance to a magnificent piece of metal-work. This

¹ The literature of the retable is enormous. Besides E. W. Tristram, *op. cit.*, see also Royal Academy of Arts, London, *Exhibition of British Primitive Paintings from the 12th to the early 16th Century*, Oxford, 1924, pp. 2, 3. See also *Country Life*, 9 Nov. 1945, p. 815; 14 Dec. 1945, p. 1058; 11 Jan. 1946, p. 82.

² See The Walpole Society, xviii (1929-30), *Vertue Note Books*, i, p. 157.

impression is confirmed by closer examination. In shape it is a long rectangle divided up into five sections. The two outside panels being narrow and upright. The three in the middle are wider. The two outside and the middle panels have figures standing under crocketed canopies. The other two are squares arranged in four 8-pointed panels, i.e. a lozenge within a square. They are joined to each other by quadrilobe bosses and in the middle of each cross-shaped space is another larger boss. The ground of this intervening space is filled with blue glass painted with a naturalistic leaf scroll in gold.¹ The backgrounds behind the architectural canopies are filled with painted glass imitating enamels. This relationship to enamels and metal-work is even more clearly visible in the borders. [Plate 1.] These are composed of small rectangular panels of painted glass imitating enamels alternating with similar panels which today are much less well preserved. The latter are meant to imitate gold plaques set with jewels, and the sockets in which the false gems were placed can still be seen. In some of these sockets there were imitations of antique cameos modelled in gesso and painted.

Two of these survive. [Plate 2.] Here again is a direct connexion with metal-work, since many late antique gems have reached us by being set into shrines.² This practice of alternating panels of gems set in gold with similarly shaped enamel panels was a well-known practice of the Mosan enamellers of the end of the twelfth century. Such an arrangement may be seen in the reliquary of St. Heribert at Deutz ascribed to Godefroï de Claire.³ Similar panels are found in other pieces of late-twelfth-century metal-work.

In general arrangement, therefore, the retable was intended to resemble metal-work and the artists wished to reproduce a technique well known in western Europe at the end of the

¹ A burse, dated *c.* 1200, in the treasury of St. Servatius' church at Maastricht, has on the sides a design of gold leaf-work on a brown ground, see Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, *Uit de Schatkamers der Middeleeuwen* (Exhibition 10 July–30 Oct. 1949), no 66a.

² See G. A. S. Snijder, 'Antique and Mediaeval Gems on Bookcovers at Utrecht' in the *Art Bulletin*, xiv; also W. S. Heckscher 'Relics of Pagan Antiquity in Mediaeval Settings' in the *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, i (1937–8), pp. 204–20. Both these articles have very full bibliographies.

³ See Otto von Falke u. Heinrich Frauberger, *Deutsche Schmelzarbeiten des Mittelalters*, Frankfurt-am-Main, 1904, pls. 83, 84 for the Heribertschrein at Deutz, *c.* 1160. For panels of enamel-work joined by bosses found in the retable, cf. the Maurinus-Schrein in Cologne, *c.* 1180, cf. V. Falke u. Frauberger, *op. cit.*, pl. 48.

twelfth century. Comparison between the technique of painted glass and embossed gilding here and work in the Sainte Chapelle has been made by Professor Lethaby. Such a technique might well reach London from Paris. It cannot, however, be used to prove that the retable is exclusively English or French. The crocketed gables have already been shown by Mr. Hastings to be French in origin, but to have been also an element in the English Court School of architecture. Lethaby mentioned the star-shaped panels as French, but they may well have been known in England by the beginning of the thirteenth century through enamel-work. Even imitation Cufic ornament on the edge of St. Peter's robe is a version of a pattern found on Limozes enamels of the period. It is only possible to prove the retable French if (a) it can be shown to be entirely French in style, and (b) it can be shown to be earlier in date than any of the objects in England related to it and, therefore, the prototype.

The paintings with which the panels are decorated are probably the most splendid thirteenth-century paintings in northern Europe. In the first panel is the figure of St. Peter, and according to Vertue there was St. Paul on the other side. The central panel consists of three figures standing under canopies. Christ creating the world stands in the middle, He holds in His left hand the world which is one of the most charming of miniature paintings. [Plate 3.] You have here 'Heaven and earth in little space'. On His right is Our Lady holding a palm and on His left St. John also holding a palm. This iconography is a peculiarity and I have not met it elsewhere. Why these two figures and why do they carry palms? Neither Our Lady nor St. John are represented as martyrs. There is a possible explanation that the iconography must be looked at in conjunction with the Crucifixion. Our Lord, Our Lady, and St. John are the normal combination for the representation of Christ on the Cross. In this panel all three figures are seen, as it were, in their glorified forms and the palms represent their victory and not their martyrdom. It should also be remembered that Our Lady was presented with a palm just before her death and that this palm was carried by St. John at her funeral.

As far as they survive the other panels contain the miracles of Our Lord. On the left-hand side is the Raising of Jairus's Daughter, next the Curing of the Blind Man. Below this is the Feeding of the Five Thousand. The remainder of the scenes can no longer be identified. It is probably safe, however, to assume that they contained other miracles. The general iconography

was, therefore, Christ the Creator of All, with St. Mary and St. John glorified, flanked by miracles, the two ends being closed by the two great apostles. For an altar-piece such iconography is unusual and I have often wondered whether the retable is a retable at all and not an antependium which was placed in front of the altar. The iconography does not, therefore, provide us with any clues to solve either the date or origin of the object.

We are therefore left with the more delicate criterion of the style. This leads us at once to the question of date. It has always been tacitly assumed that if the retable was meant for the High Altar it must have been in place by the dedication in 1269. This is not justified since we have no medieval description of the High Altar. A retable may have been on the altar, but it was probably a much more sumptuous affair. The only evidence in favour of it are the dimensions, but it cannot be assumed that the High Altar was always of these dimensions, for the existing screen is later. There is therefore no proof that the retable was in place by 1269. It may consequently be either earlier or later.

Stylistically the paintings on the retable have been connected with a number of miniatures made in France for St. Louis, particularly the Isabelle Psalter in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge and the Psalter of St. Louis in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris.¹ A general comparison between these manuscripts and the retable reveals, that, while by comparison with the Psalter drawings and the Chapter House pavement, there are general stylistic similarities, the retable has far closer relations with other contemporary English works of art. No one can deny the French influence in the retable, but it can only be proved French in origin if its English relations can equally be shown to be French.

In 1927 Dr. Eric Millar pointed out to Dr. James the close similarity between the retable and the Douce Apocalypse in the Bodleian Library.² This manuscript has been assigned to about the year 1270 on palaeographical grounds, but this date is by no means a fixed one. The difficulty about using the Apocalypse is that the same problems are attached to it as to the retable. They

¹ Psalter of St. Louis, Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 10525, see reproductions by H. Omont, *Psautier de Saint Louis*, Paris 1904; Psalter and Hours of Isabelle of France, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, see S. C. Cockerell, *The Psalter and Hours of Isabelle of France*, London, 1905.

² Oxford, Bodleian MS. Douce 180, see M. R. James, *The Douce Apocalypse*, Roxburghe Club, 1922, also E. G. Millar, *English Illuminated MSS. from the xth to the xiiiith Century*, Paris, 1926, p. 101, pls. 93, 94.

are both closely related, particularly in the grouping of the figures and in the treatment of the hair and faces. The hair is twisted up into innumerable little baroque curls which can be very clearly seen in the head of St. Peter in the retable. These curls have sometimes sharply pointed tops rather like small horns. Noses are long and pointed and the mouths turn down sharply at the corners which gives a rather lugubrious expression. This last feature is in sharp contrast with French miniatures where the mouths are often turned up in a cheerful grin. Beards are of two kinds, a rather waving one and a grotesque set of mustachios twisted and pointed and entirely stylized. In my opinion these are very English characteristics and should be compared with some of the exaggerated whiskers in such manuscripts as Nero C. IV of the twelfth century.¹ The figures are long and stand in somewhat affectedly posturing attitudes with pointing gesticulating hands. The Douce Apocalypse displays all these features. As I said above, however, the Douce Apocalypse cannot be shown to be of English origin and could, therefore, have been imported into England from abroad. On the other hand the script looks far more English than French. There are, however, two wall-paintings of Doubting Thomas and St. Christopher in the South transept of Westminster Abbey which were revealed in 1936. [Plate 4.] These are probably the most impressive medieval wall-paintings in this country and are the work of a great master. Their relationship to the Westminster retable and the Douce Apocalypse is unquestionable. They have the same long delicate figures and the same sweeping gestures. It is, however, not only in their general appearance that they are so similar. There are details which indicate that the transept paintings and the retable are very nearly connected. A comparison of the head of St. Thomas and the faces in the retable shows the same soft beard and waved hair as well as the long nose and turned-down mouth. [Plate 5.] Allowing for the difference in scale between the two it seems quite possible that the artist of the retable and he of the transept paintings were the same. The probability is, therefore, that the retable was not an import, but a product of an English artist of the second half of the thirteenth century.

This dating is not very satisfactory, since the retable has been dated as early as 1260 and the transept paintings as late as the end of the thirteenth century. Whatever their date their great similarities do not allow such a wide difference as forty years. Is

¹ British Museum, Cotton MS. Nero C. IV, ff. 21, 22.

it possible that a more precise date can be reached? There is another monument, now unhappily disappeared, which can be considered in this connexion: the Painted Chamber, formerly part of Westminster Palace. This great room was, until it was destroyed in the fire of 1834, decorated with a remarkable series of wall-paintings. They represented scenes from the Old Testament. Fortunately, copies were made of them by Charles Alfred Stothard and Edward Crocker in 1819. These copies are now in the custody of the Society of Antiquaries, the Ashmolean Museum and the Victoria and Albert Museum. The Stothard drawings were published in *Vetusta Monumenta*,¹ but the Crocker drawings have remained unpublished. In the same volume of *Vetusta Monumenta* is an admirable historical account of the Painted Chamber by Rokewode which shows that important work was being carried out there in about 1236-7, 1263-7, 1292-4, and in 1307. In this connexion it should be noted that extensive rebuilding was in progress in 1259 and that there were fires in the palace in 1262 and 1298. Stothard noted when he examined them that the paintings showed signs of being repainted and from what one can see from the copies the composition of some of the paintings looks as if it were earlier than the actual style of painting. The most significant dates seem to be 1236-7, 1263-7, and 1292-4, in fact, work of importance was being done every twenty years. From the accounts of 1263-7 it would seem that this was an occasion when a new set of paintings was made. The account for 1292-4 also suggests very drastic work.

It is now time to return to the retable and see whether it can be in any way related to the work in the Painted Chamber. There is certainly a general similarity of style, but that is to be expected in works of approximately the same date. The closest similarities can be seen in the treatment of the heads and beards which we saw were characteristic of the retable, the Douce Apocalypse and the transept paintings. It is always rash to use copies, but beggars cannot be choosers and the evidence is interesting enough to make the comparison worth while. The best comparison can be made between the head of the pilgrim from Stothard's copy and certain heads in the retable and the Douce Apocalypse. [Plate 6.] But much more important is the measured drawing made by Crocker of the great painting of the Coronation of Edward the Confessor. This drawing which is

¹ Society of Antiquaries, *Vetusta Monumenta*, vi, pls. xxvi-xxxix. The paper entitled 'A Memoir on the Painted Chamber in the Palace at Westminster', by John Gage Rokewode, which precedes the plates, was read on 12 May 1842.

now in the Victoria and Albert Museum seems to be an extraordinarily faithful copy of the original, particularly in the detail of the heads of the bishops on the right-hand side of the picture. If these heads are compared with those in the retable it will be seen that there really is an intimate relationship between the two paintings. There is the same treatment of the hair, the beards, and the lugubrious mouths. The long, pointed noses are the same and there are the elongated gesticulating figures.¹ [Plate 7.] From this examination and comparison of these monuments it seems reasonable to suggest that all these paintings belong together and to consider them as examples of the Court style of painting. The dating of the group must depend to some extent on the date of the work in the Painted Chamber. Stothard was convinced that there was repainting and that the composition was earlier than the painting. These monuments can, therefore, be as late as the 1290's or as early as 1265. James considered that the Douce Apocalypse was about 1270; and the treatment of the hair and drapery in the second great seal of Henry III, in use from 1259-72, is quite close to the paintings, though this likeness cannot be pressed too far. [Plate 8.] Another document also suggests that about 1270 would not be an impossible date: this is the Abingdon Apocalypse in the British Museum which was presented to Abingdon by Giles Bridport, Bishop of Salisbury between 1257 and 1262.² These two documents, the Seal and the Abingdon Apocalypse, suggest that the 'French' style of painting and miniature sculpture which we have been apt to think of as belonging to the end of the century can well be 30 years earlier. There is nothing, therefore, intrinsically impossible in dating the monuments about 1270 or at the very end of the reign of Henry III.

There is a small piece of evidence which might suggest that the retable was made after the accession of Edward I. This is the presence of the castles of Castile in the decoration. The use of heraldry as pure decoration is found in the borders of some of the paintings in the Painted Chamber and probably does not

¹ Comparison should also be made with the leaf scrolls which decorated the background of the painting of the Coronation of Edward the Confessor and those in the retable. The arches over the figures in the same painting are decorated with bands of imitation enamel-work and plain decoration; see *Vetusta Monumenta*, vi, pl. xxxvii. A comparable use of heraldry can also be seen in the borders of the paintings of the Virtues and Vices formerly in the Painted Chamber; see *Vetusta Monumenta*, vi, pl. xxxviii.

² British Museum, Add. MS. 42555, see *British Museum Quarterly*, vi (1931-2), pp. 71-4, pls. xxv, xxvi, and for the date, op. cit., pp. 109, 110.

indicate for whom the retable was made. On the other hand, the arms of Castile cannot have had great significance until the very end of the reign of Henry III, but heraldry is always a dangerous subject to rely on. The point cannot, therefore, be pressed.

If there is, therefore, nothing intrinsically improbable in dating these monuments rather earlier than is generally thought, it must be borne in mind that there are two later manuscripts which are fairly precisely dated and which show the same 'French' influence. They are certainly not by the same hand as the objects which have just been discussed, but they are influenced by the same fashion. These are the Petrus Comestor in the British Museum, Royal MS. 3 D. VI and the Psalter of Alfonso, son of Edward I, now British Museum Additional MS. 24686.¹ The first of these was made for Edmund, Earl of Cornwall, and presented by him to Ashridge College between 1283 and 1300. The second, the Psalter of Alfonso, was begun for this prince on the occasion of his proposed marriage with Margaret, daughter of the Count of Holland. Alfonso died in 1284 and the book was never finished, but what was done can be safely dated about 1284. A third manuscript not precisely dated, but which also shows the influence of this Court style is the Windmill Psalter in the Pierpont Morgan Library at New York. Here again can be seen the baroque curls and rather elongated figures. The golden leaf-work on a coloured ground should be compared with that on the retable and also on the paintings of the Virtues and Vices in the Painted Chamber.

It is impossible to assign any of these monuments except the Painted Chamber to a particular artist, but it is reasonable to suggest that they represent the Court style of the end of the reign of Henry III and of the reign of Edward I. Two artists' names occur in connexion with Westminster paintings of this period. The first is Peter de Hispania to whom the retable was tentatively assigned by Gage on the grounds that in 1258 this artist was to be paid for executing two painted 'tabulae' for the altar of St. Mary. There is no overwhelming evidence to connect the retable with Peter de Hispania's 'tabulae'. Moreover, he disappears from the records early in the reign of Edward I. Master Walter, the King's Painter, is really much more prob-

¹ Petrus Comestor, B.M. Royal MS. 3 D. VI, see E. G. Millar, *English Illuminated MSS. from the xth to the xiiiith Century*, Paris, 1926, p. 101, pl. 95; Alfonso Psalter, London, B.M. Add. MS. 24686, see Millar, *op. cit.*, pp. 101, 102, frontispiece, pl. 96.

able, though here again no definite proof exists. It should, however, be remembered that Master Walter was working at just this period and was also the artist of work in the Painted Chamber. He was working there in 1267 and also at the time of the great renovation in 1292. The hand which worked on the Painted Chamber is extraordinarily like two other important Westminster paintings, so it is by no means impossible that we have in the retable the work of Master Walter.

The style of painting developed at Westminster in the second half of the thirteenth century and presumably that of Master Walter was carried on in the early years of the fourteenth century by his son Master Thomas, to whom Professor Lethaby was inclined to ascribe the paintings on the sedilia. These were made about 1308 and represent on the side facing the altar two kings with a destroyed figure in the middle thought to have been St. Peter. This suggestion is a likely one since if the saint was represented as a Pope the Reformers would certainly have obliterated the figure. The kings are probably Sebert and Ethelbert. On the other side was St. Edward the Confessor and the Pilgrim and the Annunciation, both somewhat damaged.

Stylistically the sedilia paintings are related closely to the illuminations in the second part of Arundel MS. 83 in the British Museum. This manuscript is not precisely dated, but it is generally agreed that it dates from the early years of the fourteenth century. Comparison may be made between the figures of the three living kings in the miniature of the *trois vifs et trois morts* in Arundel 83 and the kings on the sedilia. The treatment of the draperies and the generally rather exaggerated poses are similar while the type of crown is really very close. Besides the figures of the kings it is useful to compare what remains of the painting of the Annunciation with the figure of St. Mary and St. John in the miniature of the Crucifixion in Arundel 83.¹ Here again the drapery is very close.

There is a small historical point of interest which can be mentioned here. The De Lisle Psalter has been quite rightly associated with the great early fourteenth-century East Anglian school of illumination. It is probable that the sedilia paintings are the work of Master Thomas, the king's painter, who was at work on the Painted Chamber in 1307. Amongst the painters who were

¹ For the sedilia, see Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England), *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in London*, i (Westminster Abbey), pl. 40; for B.M. Arundel MS. 83, f. 132, see E. G. Millar, *English Illuminated MSS. of the xivth and xvth Centuries*, Paris, 1928, pl. 11.

working with Thomas there were two painters whose names suggest they came from East Anglia. These were John de Jernemuta, i.e. John of Yarmouth, and John de Northfolk. Three of their companions had names which suggest a Lincolnshire origin.¹ When the time comes to reassess the origins of the East Anglian school the names of John of Yarmouth and John de Northfolk should, I believe, be borne in mind. A court origin of the East Anglian school would not, I think, be entirely out of the question.

With the paintings on the sedilia we come to the end of the first great epoch of painting at Westminster. It roughly coincides with the end of the reign of Henry III and that of Edward I. The monuments that have survived are pitifully few, but they do suggest a strong Court style, influenced by French art, but endowed with English characteristics. This Court style must have been very influential, so that by the end of the thirteenth century it was the predominant one. The development of English painting in the first half of the fourteenth century is really the working out of this purely Gothic style.

¹ See *Vetusta Monumenta*, tom. cit., p. 12, 'Compotus' of Nicholas de Tikhull. The three names are Gilbert de Coueham, 'pictor', i.e. de Covenham, co. Lincs.; Edmund de Marham, 'pictor', i.e. Marham, co. Norf.; William de Sudbury, 'pictor'.

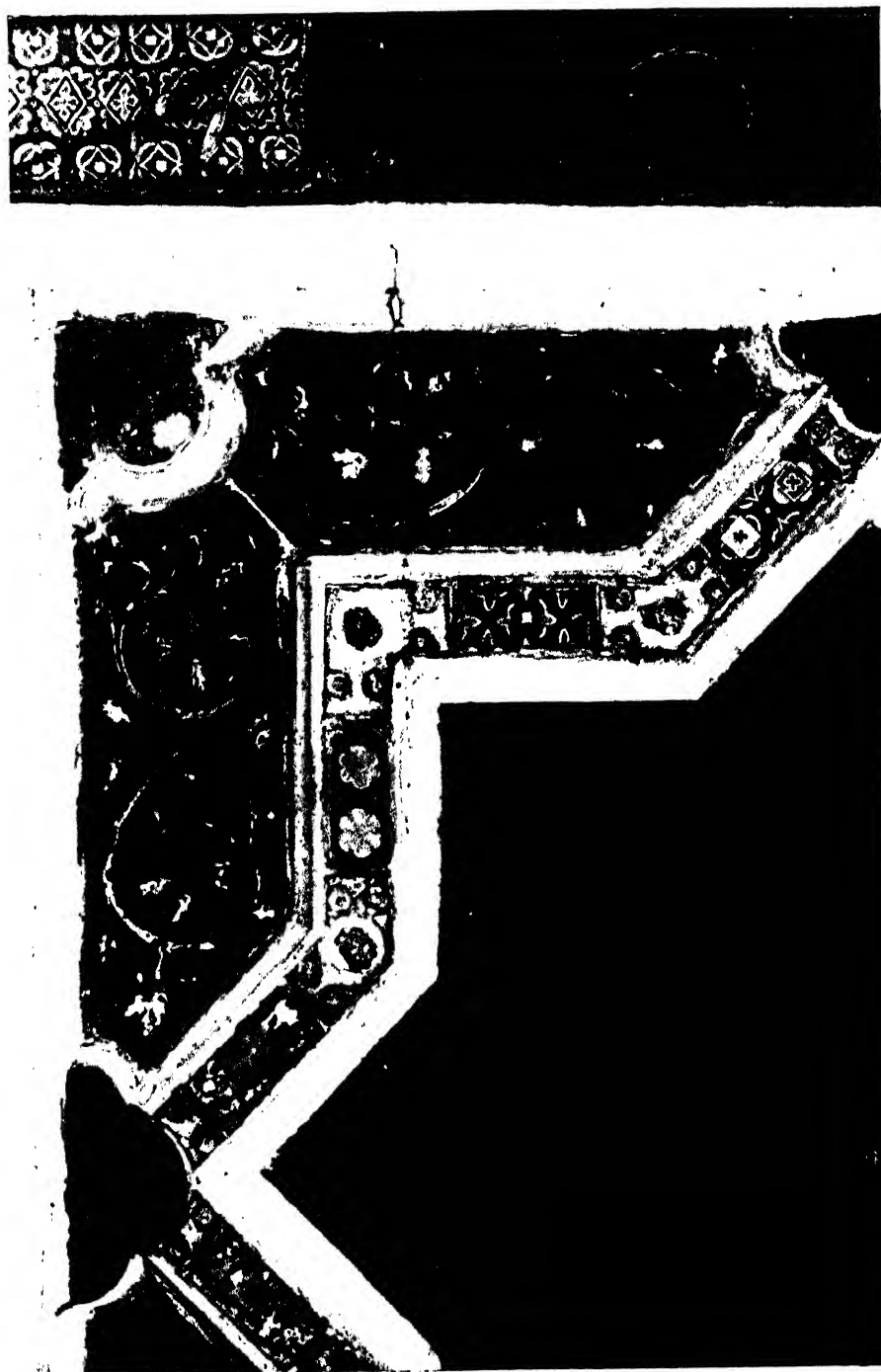


PLATE I. Westminster Abbey, retable, detail



PLATE 2. Westminster Abbey, retablo, detail



PLATE 3. Westminster Abbey, retablo, detail



PLATE 4. Westminster Abbey, wall-painting in the south transept



PLATE 5. Westminster Abbey, retablo, detail



PLATE 6. Westminster, Painted Chamber, from a copy
by C. A. Stothard (Society of Antiquaries of London)



PLATE 7. Westminster, Painted Chamber, detail by Edward Crocker (London, Victoria and Albert Museum)



PLATE 8. 2nd Great Seal of Henry III, 1259-72

RALEIGH LECTURE ON HISTORY
ARCHBISHOP THOMAS BECKET
A CHARACTER STUDY

By M. D. KNOWLES

Fellow of the Academy

Read 13 July 1949

I

THE long controversy between Henry II and Archbishop Thomas of Canterbury is probably the most familiar episode in the history of the twelfth century, and the great protagonist in the drama is certainly the most celebrated Englishman of his age. Yet, for all that historians and hagiographers and poets have written and sung, the character and personality of St. Thomas elude us like a wraith each time that we start forward to grasp them. Judgements have been made, and pictures drawn, in plenty; but with scarcely an exception they appear unreal when narrowly scanned; they are words, not life; the being they describe might tread the stage, but certainly never sat in the archbishop's hall at Canterbury. The most assiduous medievalist is often the first to admit that he can get no clear sight of the great archbishop.

This is not the fault of the age in which he lived. We feel that we have a clear and just, if necessarily imperfect, conception of Anselm, of Abelard, of Bernard, and of Ailred of Rievaulx, of John of Salisbury, and Hugh of Lincoln—and, indeed, of Henry II and Gilbert Foliot. Nor is it due to lack of material. The nine volumes of the Rolls Series devoted to the subject are far from containing all that there is to find. And yet the difficulty remains, and it was because a deepening acquaintance with the subject increased my appreciation of this difficulty that I set myself the task, by deciding the title of this lecture, of setting out the evidence once more.

The difficulty does not lie in a lack of material, but it is, perhaps, intensified by the quality of that material. There are at least eleven lives in print,¹ all written by contemporaries who were in many instances acquaintances and in several cases intimate companions of the archbishop. These lives present, indeed, critical problems of great complexity; their relationships

are manifold and often greatest when least suspected, and the problems of their interdependence have given occasion for discussion and research comparable to the critical studies devoted to the lives of St. Francis of Assisi. But they do not, like the Franciscan documents, present various interpretations of the personality of their object; their defect is rather that they were written by men who had experienced the shock of the murder and had been subsequently dazzled by the coruscation of wonders, by the influx of pilgrims, and by the official canonization. They were also, without exception, clerks or monks committed professionally in greater or less degree to the cause sponsored by the archbishop, even had it not been approved by miracles. They were therefore in every way, and above all in their analysis of character, committed to the ultimate sanctity of their subject. Yet it may be said that there are innumerable letters extant of the archbishop himself, and of such acute observers as Gilbert Foliot and John of Salisbury. This is true, but it is also true that all these letters, without a single notable exception, are letters written for some practical end connected with the great controversy. With very few exceptions, more apparent than real, they are official or business letters, and this is especially the case with the letters written by the archbishop himself. Yet even this is not the whole story. Neither Anselm, nor Bernard, nor John of Salisbury could write a letter, however occasional, without revealing his personality. Not so Archbishop Thomas.

This is in itself characteristic. Archbishop Thomas felt no need for self-expression of a literary kind. While elaborate personal letters and considerable literary work have come to us from so many of his contemporaries, there is no suggestion that Thomas ever wrote anything save his official letters. There are, as history and our own experience teach us, men whose personality and charm seek an outlet and reveal themselves in every page they write or word they speak. Such were Cicero and Augustine in the old world, Anselm and Bernard in the twelfth century, Cromwell, perhaps, Abraham Lincoln, and Newman in the modern world. The charm and power of others were felt by their contemporaries; we see it in their influence and their achievements; but their surviving words are not conductors of the magnetic spark. Such in the recent past was David Lloyd George, such was Cardinal Manning, such, perhaps, with certain reservations, was the great Napoleon, such, in the twelfth century, was Archbishop Thomas.

Yet one further observation may be made before we approach his life. The canonization of St. Thomas was due directly to his murder and to his posthumous fame, not to his personality. Whether in his latter years his life showed any clear marks of dawning sanctity is a question which it is certainly possible, if not plausible, to answer in a different sense from his biographers, and most certainly he was not an example of that type of sanctity which recurs throughout the ages, where the predestined spirit seems to walk from childhood with unseen reality. Nor was he of those who pass at a definite moment, with Paul, with Augustine, and with Francis, from the world of other men into a new world of the spirit. Whatever we may think of the change of life that Thomas made in 1162, it was not for him the clearcut beginning of a mystical or heroic existence. In other words, whatever be the difficulty of interpreting his words and acts, it does not arise because their author is himself transcending the limits and categories of common experience.

II

Whatever may have been the patriotic imaginations of earlier historians, there can be no doubt that Thomas was of Norman blood through both his parents.² He had therefore as the basis of his character the Norman temperament, different both from that of the Englishman and the Frenchman. The Englishman of the Anglo-Saxon centuries had certain recognizable, if indefinable, characteristics, seen at their finest in an Alfred, a Dunstan, a Wulfstan, and an Ailred; there was a certain warmth and ripeness and sympathetic gentleness, that had in it the seeds also of weakness and boorishness. The Normans, as seen in the Conqueror and many of his knights, bishops, and abbots, as also in their cousins in Italy and Sicily, had a drastic, hard directness, a metallic lustre of mind, highly coloured and without delicacy of shading, together with a fierce efficiency that easily became brutality. We begin, then, with these two general observations upon St. Thomas. He was a Norman and, as his most familiar and characteristic actions show, true to his race; and he was by nature one who did not seek or find self-expression in reflective or intimate writing.

Psychologists reiterate, what indeed normal experience and observation teach, that the very earliest impressions and environments of infancy are the most influential. Thomas's father was of knightly class,³ but had taken up with trade, first, perhaps, in Caen and later in London, and by the time his son was born

had become a prosperous citizen, well known in the public life of London and of standing to give entertainment to men of rank connected with the court.⁴ He was older than his wife,⁵ and misfortunes overtook him in his latter years, which straitened the family fortunes.⁶ There is no suggestion—rather the reverse—of sympathy and understanding between father and son, and if the widespread tradition that the boy stammered⁷ rests on fact, it is possible that Gilbert in some way dominated or repressed him. His mother, on the other hand, was a strong influence for good. To her he owed his early piety, his devotion to the Blessed Virgin, his lavish generosity to the poor, and, we may suppose, his purity of life.⁸ It was for her sake that he pursued what were to him at the age of twenty ungrateful studies, and when she died his home, even with a surviving father, was cheerless.⁹ She is indeed the only person, save the two kings, old and young, whom Thomas is recorded to have loved. Strangely enough, though we have many details of his early life, there is no mention of his sisters. He had at least two—the one a citizen's wife, exiled with the other relations, the second a nun and later Abbess of Barking¹⁰—but there is no suggestion and little likelihood that they held in the boy's emotional life the place so often taken by a sister. It is, indeed, noteworthy that, apart from his mother, no woman had any place in Thomas's life, and save for an official letter or two to the old Empress and such, there is only a single letter addressed to a woman in his correspondence.¹¹

Though it was long before intellectual interests meant anything to Thomas,¹² the boy, and later the man, had many gifts of body and mind. He was tall, handsome, and vigorous, with dark hair, pale complexion, and aquiline nose.¹³ All who knew him remarked on his abnormally keen sight and hearing, and on the acuteness of his other senses;¹⁴ they also note his marvelously retentive memory, with which he could recall without effort and with absolute accuracy words heard or read long before.¹⁵ All remark, in addition, on his readiness of speech and his address in argument—qualities exemplified at more than one critical moment of his life.

We have glimpses also of his moral characteristics. He was, from childhood, devout. Whether or no we may believe one biographer who tells us that he was from infancy dedicated to the priesthood,¹⁶ it seems quite clear that he never passed through a period of religious negligence or a crisis of doubt. Similarly, all agree that, though as a youth he may have complied with the speech and manners of his companions, he was throughout

his life entirely pure.¹⁷ It is significant that neither Henry II nor Gilbert Foliot, when using all available ammunition against him, ever make the slightest charge in this respect. Chaste and devout, he had therefore in a sense less excuse for his faults of vanity and extravagance and ambition, for he had not forfeited his spiritual clarity of sight.

Though living in a bourgeois home, circumstances gave Thomas an early glimpse of another world. Richer de Laigle, a Norman baron of note, was in the habit of staying in his father's house and often took the boy out riding with hawk and hound.¹⁸ Sport became a passion with him; his devotion to it and his knowledge of the fine points of hunting and fowling is noted by all his biographers and cast in his teeth by Foliot and his other enemies.¹⁹ Even after his change of life and in the midst of misfortune, as a tired wanderer his keen appraising glance at a falcon on the wrist of a loitering knight all but betrayed his disguise.

It may have been his aversion from learning and his attraction to the pursuits of a class to which he did not belong that delayed the recognition of Thomas's unusual gifts. His talents were not precisely those best fitted to take him through the schools to a brilliant ecclesiastical career; his genius was for action, for organization, for leadership, and for debate. In any case, when he returned from Paris at the age of twenty-one²⁰ to find his home desolate he drifted into a career that could scarcely have satisfied him, that of a financial clerk to a relative in the city.²¹ It was only after three years that he came almost by accident into the household of Theobald of Canterbury, his father's fellow countryman,²² and joined that brilliant society of eager and ambitious young clerks among whom were some of the keenest minds of Europe, men destined to high places in the churches and counsels of many lands, to archbishoprics and bishoprics, to the cardinalate, and even to the papacy itself.²³

We can gain a fairly clear picture of the young Thomas of twenty-five. Reserved and even repressed, yet possessing unusual gifts of which he must have been fully conscious, he was at first uneasy in the exclusive circle of Theobald's curia.²⁴ He won his way by being all things to all men, and by humouring and becoming indispensable to the old archbishop²⁵. Gradually, as he found his feet, he took still more the tone of his surroundings. He helped others to preferment and expected the like help in return.²⁶ He accepted revenues from many sources and began to indulge the taste and talent for magnificence and display

that was a part of his natural character and to court popularity with those above and below himself—a trait that perhaps reveals the void left by a lonely childhood, starved of love and encouragement, and his consequent abandonment to the attractions of the new glittering world. All the biographers are agreed on a few salient characteristics—his charm,²⁷ his generosity, his gentleness,²⁸ his infinite desire to please and to be applauded, his strict truthfulness.²⁹ One trait—or rather the absence of one—should surely be noted. In all the mass of biographical material there is scarcely a single reference to personal affection given or received. Thomas was admired, listened to, and followed, but not loved; for his part, he delighted in directing or controlling or pleasing men, but not in friendship. John of Salisbury, a very sensitive witness, has respect and admiration, but not the fire of personal devotion. Not even his clerks who had followed him so long and admired him so sincerely make mention of affection. The only two human beings (apart from his mother) who are recorded to have loved him are the two masters, Theobald and the king,³⁰ whom in different ways he strove to please by concealing his real self, and it is worth noting that both were, though in different ways, disillusioned at the last.

III

In 1154, at the age of thirty-six, the archdeacon of Canterbury was appointed chancellor. The prime agent in this was Theobald, and his principal aim was to protect the Church against encroachment; he may also have hoped to make the succession to Canterbury possible for his protégé, for with rare exceptions all chancellors since the Conquest had become bishops. The archdeacon certainly did not shrink from the appointment; he may even have paid for it.³¹ Hitherto the chancellorship had not been a major office, nor was Thomas immediately successful, but when he found his feet his ability and energy and magnificence made his seven years' tenure memorable. Conscious of his own powers he now had for the first time great responsibilities and great opportunities. Moreover, for the first time in his life the mature Thomas, whose young manhood had been spent in narrow circumstances, could now meet the great on an equality and prove to himself and to them that he could excel and surpass them in their own accomplishments and pastimes. Prescient though he was in many ways, Theobald assuredly did not anticipate the torrent of energy and the blaze of splendour that followed the arrival of his archdeacon

at court. The attention of historians has been so concentrated upon the later controversy that few have paused to record the achievement of those seven years, distorted in perspective as they have often been by the quotation of a few highly coloured incidents from the biography of William FitzStephen. Nevertheless, they are essential to an estimate of Thomas's character. The extent of his achievement and celebrity is unquestionable; it is vouched for by chroniclers, biographers, and cool critics such as John of Salisbury and Arnulf of Lisieux;³² some of it can be checked from the earliest pipe rolls. Not only did the chancellor display remarkable powers of organizing and executing with exceptional speed every kind of undertaking, whether civil, military, or architectural; not only did he show clearly for the first time the indefinable but unmistakable stamp of greatness—greatness in conception, greatness of manner, greatness in execution³³—but he showed also a tact, a charm, and a prudence which overcame the prejudices and rebuffs of his first months and won the respect and support of all save the envious and the discontented.³⁴ This tact, this charm, this prudence should be noted. They are not the qualities associated with Archbishop Thomas in most men's minds, but they are attested by the most reliable contemporary witnesses. The same witnesses, moreover, agree that the archbishop readily listened, and was prepared to defer, to serious criticism.³⁵ He had none of the sensitive vanity or blind egoism or domineering, demanding ways which usually distinguish the fanatic, the despot, and the dictator. It is worth bearing this in mind; when in later years Thomas acted tactlessly, stubbornly, or harshly, it was not because of an old character-fault, but because he judged, rightly or wrongly, that the time had come to dismiss conciliation and neglect criticism.

As he grew in self-confidence he displayed his magnificence and versatility in every direction. Sweeping in all the many emoluments that came his way, not excepting those from vacant abbeys and bishoprics, he poured out all lavishly on entertainment, on gifts, on his establishment and its furnishings—plate, clothes, beasts, and provisions. His hounds, his hawks, and his horses were a marvel; no subject of the English king before, and none again till Wolsey, so dazzled the eyes of Frenchmen. Over all there was a gaiety, a gallantry, an irresistible blend of high spirits and panache³⁶ joined to solid work and keen foresight.³⁷ He must even show that he could have been a *preux chevalier* of the best; his personal men-at-arms and his trumpets were the

cynosure of the host; he himself, now chancellor and still archdeacon, donned armour and overthrew his foe, while at the same time, with that steady drive towards the end with a disregard of the means that characterized him, he would have taken Toulouse out of hand untroubled by the feudal scruples of his master.³⁸ To Henry himself—young, imperious, gifted, impulsive, and gallant as yet—Thomas showed once more his powers of adaptation and comradeship. To the experience and counsel of an older man he joined the sympathy and gaiety of a comrade. Indeed, to the young Henry, with the freshness of youth added to the charm of royalty as it appeared to the son of a burgher family, Thomas felt drawn by the magnetism of personal devotion, intensified as it was by the fifteen years of of age that lay between them.³⁹

Yet for all the high-spirited *camaraderie* this was not what his life should have been, and he knew it. Modern apologists have palliated his extravagance and even his military exploits on the score that he was no more than a deacon. His contemporaries neither made nor would have accepted such an excuse,⁴⁰ and, beyond this, he knew that he had devoted his life to the Church; it was for that that he had been advanced by Theobald, and he must have known well that when he tired of all this business he would find a bishopric ready to hand—for which he would be how ill prepared! Beyond this still there was the call of Christ, which has been the same in all ages. The promises of the gospel are not made to the rich, to the worldly, to those clad in soft garments who are in the houses of kings. Thomas knew this, and his lavish almsgiving may have been in part a compensation. Nor was it enough that his chastity was proof⁴¹—here at least he did not follow Henry—and we may believe that there is little if any exaggeration in the accounts of his efforts—again a psychological compensation—to maintain the rights of the Church⁴² and to multiply his secret penances and prayers. Throughout his chancellorship there is this tension, this reserve; we hear of decisions taken alone and of the exterior unwilling compliance with others. But whether hiding himself or revealing himself he could not fail to be a master of men.

In one quarter, however, he did not succeed in being all things to all men. The sober Theobald could not be won by extravagance or display, and there is evidence that, as he saw his end approaching, he examined his conscience still more strictly, and found things amiss. He sent more than one urgent summons to his archdeacon, calling him to his spiritual father's

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death-bed and even threatening anathema. But the chancellor could not serve two masters; he did not come, and he never saw Theobald alive again.⁴³

IV

There is no hint in any biography that Thomas had been expecting or desiring the archbishopric in the long months of Theobald's decline. There was an unexceptionable candidate to hand in Gilbert Foliot. Nor is there any reason to doubt the sincerity of his resistance.⁴⁴ Certainly he never shrank from high office or responsibility, but the chancellor's life was sweet and he knew, from his past training and from his conscience, that he could never be a worldly and pliant archbishop. He knew the king also⁴⁵—for Thomas never misjudged men though he may sometimes have misjudged the effect of his actions upon them—and he knew well, as did another chancellor, his namesake, four centuries later, that no appeal to the past would weigh with his lord. He, Thomas, could hide his own deepest personality and meet Henry on another level, but the king would not follow him if he gave freedom to his true self. What he did not, perhaps, realize yet was that whereas he could retain his loyalty and affection for Henry throughout a bitter quarrel, Henry's love would vanish once and for all like morning mist when his will was thwarted.⁴⁶

Once he had made his decision Thomas became the servant of the Church, whose laws he knew well. His change of life was startling and real, but it was not yet in the deepest sense a conversion. As chancellor he had given free play to his natural, worldly tastes and talents; as archbishop he moulded his life on the lines which he had always inwardly admitted to be those of his vocation. But the deeper conversion, the real surrender of his life to the unseen, the break with the world he had loved, was not yet.

Thomas was by nature thorough, drastic, and masterful. The ordering of his life as archbishop was therefore physically stern and austere. There is no reason to doubt the substantial accuracy of Herbert of Bosham when he details the day's horarium with its vigils, its maundies, its haircloth, and its scourgings. But in a more subtle way the archbishop had not put off the old man. The magnificence, the expense, the panache were still there.⁴⁷ Thomas might wear haircloth and wash the feet of the poor, but in the splendour of all his appointments, in the lavishness of his gifts, and in his commanding presence he was a very

different archbishop from the calm Theobald and the gentle Anselm.

The storm which the chancellor had foreseen was not long in breaking. Again and again the archbishop withstood the king or acted in opposition to what he knew to be his policy. But his very audacity and lack of hesitation seem to show that while he knew there would be strife he thought of it as a tournament rather than as an issue that would break the ties that held him to his old brilliant life with the king. As is familiar to all, the first crisis that revealed the gravity of the contest developed at Clarendon, where the king, after frustration at Westminster, demanded assent to what soon became the celebrated sixteen constitutions. The archbishop knew that they ran starkly counter to the requirements of a free church in direct canonical relations with the papacy, and for long he stood out. He was in the end overborne by a crescendo of pleas, persuasions, and promises; by anxiety for his colleagues, fear for himself, and affection for the king.⁴⁸ Popularity, the favour of others won by compliance, had often been his aim in the past, and it would seem that he yielded at the last because he was unable to bear the bitterness of the reproaches of the king and his friends. As always, his decision was sudden and uncounselled.⁴⁹ He repented almost as soon as he had yielded,⁵⁰ and the following months must have been among the most unhappy of his life. He had lost every advantage of a firm stand; he had antagonized some of his colleagues and betrayed others, yet he had failed utterly to recapture the confidence and affection of the king.⁵¹ The months that followed were the only period of his life in which he acted inconsistently and imprudently at every level, and his indecision and inconsistency no doubt reflected his lack of strength to stand alone in his conviction and his need for support either from his king or from the pope. His attempts to leave the country against his undertaking given at Clarendon were unwise and ineffective, and his subsequent attempts at reconciliation ineffective and humiliating. Meanwhile he continued to provoke Henry and to disobey his summons.

In consequence of this, the critical meeting at Northampton in October 1164 opened with the primate at a disadvantage, and as the early days passed his difficulties, his danger, and his indecision increased. Had Henry known when to hold his hand the victory would have been his, and Canterbury would have lacked its most precious shrine. But Henry knew neither pity nor moderation. The archbishop, deserted by his colleagues,

now had in the king not an adversary in an equal struggle, but a ruthless enemy, bent on his ruin. He was face to face with pain, imprisonment, perhaps even death, and that, not for a principle but in a feudal, personal, quarrel; he would pass into oblivion and pope and king would pick up the threads of their old life while he lay in prison or in the grave. His mental agony was joined to physical fear such as the battlefield had not brought,⁵² and that in its turn brought on an illness that was possibly the result of the mind's attempt to escape from its dilemma.⁵³ It was at this crisis that the decisive change in his personality was achieved—the result, so his biographers relate, of the advice of his confessor, Robert of Merton. 'If you wished', Robert told him, 'you could easily escape from all danger and not only mitigate the king's anger, but make him your friend. You refuse to do so because you choose rather to seek the will of God. The affair, then, is no longer in your hands, but in God's, and He will be with you. Stand fast in your just cause.'⁵⁴

The events of the following day are familiar to all—how the archbishop, having said a votive Mass of St. Stephen, carried his own cross into the hall of the castle, how he refused to hear judgement pronounced and forbade his colleagues to take part in his trial, how he regained the initiative he had long lost by lifting the quarrel to the high level of a spiritual issue, and how he broke from the circle of his enemies. It was the first of the two occasions when, for a whole act's length, he stood in the centre of the stage of English history.

Yet, though he now carried his cross with a realization of its power and of its message, he was no Anselm. As he strode out through the hall the knights raised the cry of traitor, among them the king's illegitimate half-brother Hamelin. Thomas turned fiercely on him and called him bastard. 'If these were not a priest's hands', he exclaimed, 'you would feel their strength.'⁵⁵ Late that night, in a storm of wind and rain, he rode out of Northampton in disguise.

V

The incidents of the archbishop's short Odyssey throw a welcome light on his personality. His assumption of the dress of a simple lay-brother of Sempringham would seem to have been as effective a disguise as the hat and cloak assumed to give a stage incognito to a Garrick or an Irving. Unaccustomed to walking on rough ground, he stumbled over the shingle on the Flanders beach or rode uncomfortably on a pony with a wisp

of hay for bridle. His commanding presence, his fine hands, and the air with which he gave presents of food to children convinced cottagers and innkeepers that they were entertaining one of the great. A biographer records his courteous acceptance from a warm-hearted fisherwoman, dimly perceptive of his eminence, of a staff that had lain in the chimney-corner, heavy with soot and with the grease of fish, and we are told how he looked with the quick glance of a judge at a falcon on a knight's wrist, remembering perhaps

that long-distant summer-time,
The castle, and the dewy woods, and hunt
And hound, and morn on those delightful hills.

And, as he looked, the knight said to his friend: 'That's the Archbishop of Canterbury or the devil.'⁵⁶ Nor had his sense of the magnificent left him; by the time he arrived at Sens he was accompanied by 300 horsemen,⁵⁷ and his friends had difficulty in persuading him to moderate his style even at Pontigny.⁵⁸

VI

The six years of exile are a sharply defined period in the life of the archbishop in which he found himself in circumstances entirely novel to his experience. To the student of the present day they are a stumbling-block, for the scanty evidence of his personal life must be derived either from the accounts, often repellent to modern ears, of his austerities, or from the severe and even harsh tone of his letters. When, in November 1164, Thomas retired with a small group of clerks and servants to the celebrated and observant abbey of Pontigny, he withdrew, for the first time in his adult life, from the activities of administration, travel, and lawsuits. Granted, he had with him the nucleus of a household, with whom he continued a skeleton curial routine; no doubt, also, correspondence and visitors occupied some of his time. Nevertheless, the period as a whole, and especially the earlier years before the great conferences began, was a time of retreat and enforced inactivity. The excitement of the struggle had passed; the uncertainties of the issue remained; responsibility for the Church in England was his and his alone, for he could at any moment have put an end to the deadlock by a single word of submission,⁵⁹ and now he had to bear the attacks of his enemies, the criticisms and impatiences of his friends,⁶⁰ and the searchings of heart, the seasons of doubt, and the physical discomforts of

a temporary lodging. The psychological strain which such conditions imposed on such a temperament as his must have been great. The evidence that we possess indicate that he met the trial with equanimity. He had wished, he said, for years for such a time of retreat and study, in which to repair the omissions of other days,⁶¹ and John of Salisbury who, though not now in his household, was in constant communication with him, bears witness to the change for good which the new conditions had upon him.⁶² Exiles are naturally and notoriously discontented, jealous, and quarrelsome, and some of the archbishop's clerks failed to persevere. Others, however, of no less distinction, joined themselves to him, and the majority held fast, even under great temptation; numerous small indications show that what held them was the leader's grasp, which the archbishop never lost, together with his gallantry of spirit and the loyalty which he inspired.⁶³

The mental and physical rigours of Pontigny were increased by the archbishop's resolve to adapt himself to the monastic life. He assumed the habit, lay on a rough pallet, followed the offices, ate sparingly, and even for a season endeavoured to follow exactly the coarse dietary régime of the monks. To these austerities he added frequent scourgings, long vigils, the wearing of haircloth, and immersion in the cold stream that flowed through the offices.⁶⁴ It is not surprising that his health deteriorated. A modern reader may first smile and then turn in revolt from details that must be left in Latin. No doubt the twelfth century was less delicate than the twentieth, but it is worth remarking that even the monks of Canterbury regarded Thomas's mortifications with marvel. Saints as well as fanatics are on occasion extravagant, and each reader may make his own pronouncement on the great archbishop; those who, with another saint and namesake of Thomas, are 'of nature so shrinking from pain that they are almost afraid of a philip'⁶⁵ may be allowed to respect his sincerity and high courage.

The first weeks of his exile had been something of a moral triumph for the archbishop. Not only had the King of France hailed him as a confessor for the cause of Christ, but Alexander III, after full examination and hearing the envoys of Henry II, had solemnly condemned the greater part of the constitutions and publicly recognized Thomas as the Church's champion. It might well have seemed that the phase of mental and moral strife was over for him. Logically, the procedure would have been for the pope to co-operate with the archbishop in bringing

growing pressure to bear, first upon the bishops of England and then upon the king. Thomas, indeed, maintained throughout, first, that nothing but the threat of excommunication and interdict would break the king and, secondly, that such a threat, seriously made, would be effective. All that happened in the struggle vindicated his judgement. The difficulty was that with a man of the calibre of Henry II nothing but firm, continuous, and relentless pressure would have availed. This difficulty, hard enough for a pope to overcome at any time, was rendered peculiarly formidable by a number of reasons which historians have enumerated, and which need not delay us here.

Not the least of these reasons was the past and present bearing of the archbishop. The early months of exile at Pontigny had undoubtedly deepened his earnestness, but his greatest handicap from his life as chancellor was the wrong relationship it had created between himself and the king—a relationship tolerable enough between a young king and a chancellor younger than his years, but one quite intolerable between a mature monarch and his spiritual father. The archbishop's first attempt to change this relationship had been to assert the primacy of spiritual authority. Now that the quarrel had deepened, he made a valiant attempt to establish a purely spiritual, personal, and paternal relationship with the king. In the three celebrated letters of 1165 he strikes a deeper and more intimate note than anywhere else in the correspondence.⁶⁶ But he lacked the background, the acknowledged wisdom, and the experienced sanctity that had given strength to Lanfranc and Anselm. Henry did not deign to answer; and the note is rarely heard again.

VII

The biographers, who dwell in some detail on the life at Pontigny, tell us little of the remaining four years of exile. Nor have we any intimate letters of those years. Our judgement, therefore, of the archbishop's personality is influenced, at least unconsciously, by the impression given by his public actions and official letters. The struggle was a dour one, between men of exceptional tenacity and power, and both parties soon realized that it could be ended only by the capitulation or annihilation of one of them.

Each was possessed of a weapon of great efficacy: Henry could eject and keep out of his dominions the archbishop and his supporters; the archbishop could cast his opponents out of the society of Christendom and suspend his clerical foes from

office. As we have seen, Thomas had as archdeacon and chancellor been noted for his ability to be all things to all men that he might win all. From Northampton onwards another man appears—rigid, stubborn, even ruthless. These qualities are not virtues; an Anselm or a More could be unyielding and immovable enough without them, but neither Anselm nor More had a sense of past guilt and weakness. One who has long yielded to human respect and worldly compliance—one whose gentleness has been mistaken for whole-hearted sympathy—may easily, from self-distrust or by way of compensation, turn from gentleness to uncompromising rigidity.

More than one of his biographers notes that Thomas, throughout his life, was gentle to the toward and harsh to the froward.⁶⁷ The phrase is a commonplace of medieval morals and lives, but it has a relevance here. When once Henry, by exiling the archbishop's relatives, began total warfare Thomas showed himself every whit as relentless. He was a masterful man, and it may be that the somewhat capricious treatment he received from the pope drove him to act swiftly when he could. Certainly whenever his hands were freed he used the whip, and its lash fell most sharply on those of his opponents who were most exposed. Drastic he had always been; he took his great decisions swiftly and without counsel,⁶⁸ and it may be that some of them were ill advised—the Vézelay excommunications, for example, the first excommunication of Jocelin of Salisbury, and, four years later, the sentence against York and London. In each case he had strict justice on his side, but in each case he lost, externally at least, more than he gained.

The tone of the archbishop's utterances during these years has met with adverse judgement from his own day to this, and an appraisal is essential for those who would have a complete view of his personality. It is, perhaps, allowable to remark that no one can fairly pass judgement who has not read more than once and deeply pondered the whole long series of letters. Moreover, it must be remembered that we have before us nothing from the archbishop and his staff save official or semi-official pieces from the dossier of the struggle. The public pleadings and rejoinders of either party to a protracted and bitter controversy must always seem overbearing, or at least one-sided and opinionated. Also, readers in a later age, to whom the controversy has no actuality, and who have been educated in a social tradition of toleration and gentle speech, may too readily be repelled by firmness and severity and consistency which the circumstances

of the time fully justified. The utterances of Socrates at his trial have not escaped this criticism, and it is even probable that many, if they were to be frank, would confess to receiving something of a shock at the action of Christ Himself in expelling the traffickers from the Temple enclosure, or at His stern and biting denunciation of the Pharisees. Certainly such utterances can only be justified if the words are true and there is necessity for speaking them. So with the words of Thomas. His severity is only justifiable if the essential justice of his case, and the impunity which the forces of evil enjoyed, made it necessary for him to use whatever force of word or sanction he could command. In such matters, each student or reader must make his own judgement with a due sense of the grave issues involved.

The first excommunication of Jocelin of Salisbury is certainly a case where he would appear to have acted with formal justice, but severely and, perhaps, unadvisedly. Jocelin, by permitting and assenting to the election as his dean of the justly excommunicated John of Oxford, had certainly deprived himself of any canonical foothold. There was, however, much to be said in his defence. He had, at considerable personal risk owing to the king's old grudge against him, been the archbishop's loyal supporter at Clarendon, and had remained his sincere well-wisher at Northampton.⁶⁹ Since Thomas had been in exile, the king had mercilessly extracted from him the sums for which he had gone bail on the archbishop's behalf.⁷⁰ Now, still in danger, he had been subjected to strong pressure by the king in order to force him into agreeing to the appointment of a useful royal clerk. Weak he doubtless was, but he had not acted from either contempt or enmity towards the archbishop. John of Salisbury thought the sentence just, but severe, and used all his influence to procure its revocation.⁷¹ Jocelin's excommunication had the result of throwing him finally into alliance with Gilbert Foliot, while it had no great effect as a piece of justice.

Another important occasion on which the archbishop's severity is open to criticism is more crucial. It is his fulmination against the Archbishop of York and his companions, the Bishops of London and Salisbury, of the papal excommunication and suspension with which he had been furnished in 1170. These bulls, it will be remembered, he sent across the Channel immediately before returning to England in November, and they were served upon the three prelates when they were about to take ship to visit the king. It was their bitter statement of their grievance, and the allegation that the archbishop had returned to

bring, not peace, but a sword, that provoked Henry into the outbursts of passion that gave the impulse to the four knights, and it was the demand of these knights for the revocation of the sentence against the bishops, firmly and repeatedly refused by the archbishop both in his hall and in the cathedral, that served as a pretext for the final act of violence. Certainly the missive sent from Witsand as a harbinger, and the manifest satisfaction of the archbishop at having driven the blow home,⁷² startles the reader as a sudden and unexpected cut of the whip across the face. We cannot refrain from asking, not only was it wise, but was it charity? Would Anselm or even Gregory VII have acted thus?

There are, however, some considerations to be borne in mind. The first is, that the bishops concerned—and especially Roger of York—had acted with full knowledge that they were trespassing upon a traditional preserve of Canterbury. The second is, that the three prelates were actually crossing to the king for the express purpose of taking part in an election to the vacant English sees and abbacies—a flagrant reassertion by Henry of one of the uncanonical decrees of Clarendon and a direct and grave insult to the archbishop⁷³ on the part of the prelates. Lastly, it should be noted that the archbishop's move, stern as it was, was all but successful. The best-informed biographers agree that Foliot and Jocelin were for submitting and asking for absolution; they were overborne by the less scrupulous Roger of York. Had they been reconciled with the archbishop, events might have taken a very different course.⁷⁴ As for the refusal of the knights' demand that the censures should be cancelled, Thomas's reply was just and true. He had no power to remove the papal ban from Roger of York, who was not his suffragan; as for the other two, he was willing to exercise his right of conditional absolution if they would sincerely ask him.

VIII

As the struggle wore on, the precise object for which the archbishop fought had changed its appearance to his eyes. At the beginning it had been the forensic rights of the Church and the clerical order; then it had become at Clarendon the freedom of the English Church as part of the universal Church in its relations with Rome; finally, it had broadened into a defence of the rights of God as against Caesar. There is no question that Thomas's conception of the issue deepened and became more spiritualized, and that his attitude acquired thereby a dignity

and a strength which it had lacked before. As early as 1165 he had told the hesitant cardinals that even if they failed to defend the rights of the apostolic see he would stand unmoved amid the ruins of their world.⁷⁵ Four years later, when his old colleague, John of Poitiers, publicly rebuked him for pride and obstinacy and for destroying the Church, he replied: 'Have a care, brother, lest the Church of God be destroyed by thee; by me, by God's help, it shall never suffer destruction.'⁷⁶ Later still, when Henry at a conference broke out with a longing for agreement: 'If only you and I were together again, if only you would do my will, I would give you all power', the archbishop saw in the words the supreme trial of the Tempter: 'All these things will I give thee, if falling down thou wilt adore me.'⁷⁷ There can be no reasonable doubt, to one who reads and ponders the letters and the lives, that Thomas was not deceived at the final concord. He had hoped to return to his church secure; he was now willing to return without the formal guarantee. It was with his eyes wide open that he assented to the final agreement without the kiss of peace.⁷⁸

During those last months of 1169—perhaps even earlier—he had become convinced that only by his death would a solution be found. From whatever more intimate and hidden sources this conviction may have arisen, his own experienced knowledge of Henry and the men about him would have been enough. The consistent refusal of the kiss of peace was sinister in the extreme. There are abundant indications that even had the four knights not acted, men and forces were in motion that would have borne the archbishop away.⁷⁹ It was to his death that he was going in England; he accepted and in a sense he desired it; during the last weeks of his life he was fey.⁸⁰ But to say, with some recent historians, that desire for the glory of martyrdom made him fatalistic or reckless, courting death, is to go beyond the evidence and the bounds of human nature. The archbishop's last weeks and days and hours are full of the vitality that characterized him all his life. He delighted in his homecoming,⁸¹ and would, as he said, willingly live in peace at Canterbury.⁸² But, as he saw it, the forces of evil were around him in pride, and it was the part of an archbishop to strike at them.⁸³

IX

The four weeks that passed between the landing of the archbishop at Sandwich and his death were full of dramatic incidents that displayed every facet of his personality. The popular wel-

come on his journey to Canterbury, in the city itself, and on his subsequent visit to London was such as no subject had ever before enjoyed. If many of the scriptural parallels drawn by his biographers in their narratives offend modern sentiment, few readers of William FitzStephen's glowing pages could fail to recall, without his suggestion, the welcome given to Christ as He entered the holy city, and the jealous anger of His enemies. As for the archbishop, he recaptured once more the high spirits of other years. Flushed with emotion, brilliant and generous as ever, his progress to London to do homage to his old pupil, the young king Henry, and the princely gift of bloodstock that he took with him recalled the palmy days of the Chancellorship.⁸⁴ And then, when his overtures were met with sullen, implacable enmity and insult, he used the festival and crowds of Canterbury as he had used those of Vézelay to hear and to publish his comminations. It was clear to all—it is clear to us as we read—that the bitter sarcasm of Henry was true: England was not a bush that could hold two such robins as the archbishop and himself—unless they were joined in purest amity.

X

There is probably no hour in medieval history of which the details are so well known, and so revealing of character, as is the last hour of the archbishop's life, from about half-past two to half-past three on that dark December afternoon.⁸⁵ There are at least nine major accounts, of which four are the work of eyewitnesses.⁸⁶ Here we are concerned not with the series of incidents as such, but solely with the light they throw on the archbishop's personality at this consummation of his life.

The knights arrived intent on murder; though they may, with Lady Macbeth, have confirmed their resolution with strong drink, they were certainly not drunk;⁸⁷ there was no disorder or noise at their first arrival and they made their way to the inner room, where the archbishop, having confessed himself after the High Mass, had dined and was seated with his monks and clerks. For a few moments he did not notice the new arrivals, who seated themselves sullenly on the floor at his feet. When he saw them, he looked long at them in silence with his keen and penetrating glance, and flushed scarlet at the first malediction of FitzUrse.⁸⁸ In the argument which followed over the excommunication of the bishops he spoke fearlessly but with restraint; when at length the knights turned the argument into a wrangle and began to rail at him he replied: 'It is useless to threaten me.

If all the swords of England were over my head, your threats would not shift me from God's justice and obedience to the pope. I will dispute every inch of ground with you in the Lord's fight.⁸⁹ I left England long ago in fear; I have now returned to my church at the pope's behest; I will not again abandon her. If I may hold my office in peace, well and good; if not, may God's will be done.' An uproar followed, and the knights left the room calling on those present to defy the traitor and prevent his escape. The archbishop started up and followed them to the door, where he heard them telling his servants that the king released them from fealty to the archbishop. 'What do you say?' he exclaimed. 'Speak! speak! I shall not fly. I shall be here. Here you will find me.' And he raised his hand to his head.⁹⁰

He then turned calmly back and sat down once more.⁹¹ John of Salisbury, as always the candid friend, made complaint. 'You have always been like that. You always act and speak entirely on your own, without taking advice.'⁹² The archbishop took him up good-humouredly. 'What would you then, master John?' 'You should have summoned your council. You must realize that those knights simply want an excuse for killing you.' 'We must all die, master John,' replied Thomas, 'and we must not let the fear of death make us swerve from justice.'⁹³ I am ready to accept death for the sake of God and of justice and the Church's freedom—far more ready to accept death than they are to kill me.' 'It is all very well for you to say that,' was John's reply, 'but the rest of us are sinners and not so ready for death. Not a soul here except yourself is asking to die.'⁹⁴ 'God's will be done,' said the archbishop quietly. It was the last moment of familiar talk.

Even as they were speaking the knights, now fully armed, began to batter their way into the archbishop's lodging, and the monks implored him to take refuge in the church. He refused: 'What are you afraid of, my fathers?' and when they insisted he still sat on: 'You monks never have any spirit in you.'⁹⁵ Then as the din increased they began to drag him, resisting and expostulating, towards the church.⁹⁶ Thrice he forced them to halt and at last, breaking loose, he refused to move till his cross-bearer was found. Then, driving the others before him, and walking slowly behind his cross, he entered the minster.⁹⁷ In the panic the door was shut in the face of some of his clerks who had been left behind; the archbishop returned and opened the door for them.⁹⁸ The monks began to bar the door to the cloister, but Thomas forbade them: 'Christ Church is not a fortress. Let

anyone who wishes enter.'⁹⁹ Then, as a cry was raised that armed men were in the cloister, 'I will go to meet them',¹⁰⁰ he said; but the monks once more seized him and carried him towards the high altar. The aisle was full of monks and townspeople, and as the knights strode in they collided in the dusk with those rushing hither and thither. 'Where is the traitor Thomas Beketh?', they shouted. Then, when no reply came, 'Where is the archbishop?' Thomas came forward. 'Here am I, no traitor, but a priest ready to suffer in my Redeemer's cause. God forbid that I should flee from your swords or depart from what is just.'¹⁰¹ But do not dare to touch any of my people.'¹⁰² He then retired a few steps and stood by a pillar, with a few monks and clerks by him. 'Reginald, Reginald,' he said to FitzUrse, 'is this your return for all what I have done for you?'¹⁰³ The knights rushed at him and endeavoured to hoist him on the shoulders of William Tracy to carry him outside the church.¹⁰⁴ The first to touch him was FitzUrse. 'Unhand me, Reginald,' exclaimed the archbishop, 'you are my sworn vassal',¹⁰⁵ and then, struggling with him, 'Unhand me, pander!'¹⁰⁶ He shook himself loose, seized FitzUrse by the mail coat and sent him reeling back.¹⁰⁷ 'I will not leave the church. If you wish to kill me, kill me here.'¹⁰⁸ Then, as they delayed to strike, he covered his eyes and bowed his head: 'To God and blessed Mary, St. Denis, and St. Alphege I commend myself and my Church.'¹⁰⁹ These were not, as is often said, his last words. After the two first blows he was still standing, and Fitz-Stephen heard him say: 'Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit.'¹¹⁰ At the third stroke he fell upon his hands and knees, and said in a low voice, 'I accept death for the name of Jesus and for the Church.'¹¹¹ Then at the fourth stroke he fell at full length, with his hands outstretched as if in prayer, and his cloak covering his whole body to the feet.¹¹² 'Great he was in truth always and in all places', wrote Herbert of Bosham, 'great in the palace, great at the altar; great both at court and in the church; great when going forth on his pilgrimage, great when returning and singularly great at his journey's end.'¹¹³

The church had been full of noise and eddying crowds. Now, for a space, it was empty and silent, under the gathering thunderstorm, save for distant shouting as the knights pillaged the dead man's lodging. In the dark church, neglected for the moment by all, lay the tall form of the archbishop, majestic and motionless.

NOTES

1. By John of Salisbury, William of Canterbury, Benedict of Peterborough, Alan of Tewkesbury, Edward Grim, William FitzStephen, Herbert of Bosham, Guernes of Pont S. Maxence, Anonymous I (the so-called Roger of Pontigny), Anonymous II, and the anonymous author of the Icelandic Saga. The best discussion of the dates of composition and mutual relationships of these is by E. Walberg, *La Tradition hagiographique de S. Thomas Becket* (Paris, 1929). The two fullest, most original, and best authenticated are those of William FitzStephen and Herbert of Bosham, both clerks of the archbishop, but several of the others contain much, and all contain some, original matter. In addition, of course, there are the many letters contained in the three volumes of the Rolls Series *Materials for the History of Archbishop Thomas Becket* (ed. J. C. Robertson and J. B. Sheppard). All references with no further indication are to the last mentioned work, cited by volume and page.
2. II Anon. iv. 81: Gilbertus . . . Becchet, patria Rothomagensis . . . habuit autem uxorem nomine Roesam, natione Cadomensem, genere burgensium quoque non disparem. W. FitzStephen, iii. 15, is more definite: ortu Normannus et circa Tierrici villam (i.e. Thierceville).
3. W. FitzStephen, iii. 15: Ut ille [*sc.* Theobaldus] . . . de equestri ordine.
4. II Anon. iv. 81: In commerciorum exercitio vir industrius. W. FitzStephen, iii. 14: Vicecomes aliquando Londoniae . . . (he and his wife were) cives Londoniae mediastini neque foenerantes neque officiose negotiantes sed de redditibus suis honorifice viventes. For his guests *v.* Grim, ii. 359. J. H. Round, *The Commune of London*, 101, published a charter of 1137 witnessed by Gilbert Becket.
5. Grim, ii. 359: Pater jam senuerat (when his wife died in Thomas's twentieth year).
6. Ibid.
7. Cf. *Thómas Saga Erkebyskups*, ed. Eiríkr Magnússon, ch. vii (Rolls Series, vol. i. 29). The editor remarks (vol. ii, p. xcvi) that this trait is mentioned in all the Icelandic accounts.
8. I Anon. iv. 7: His mother used to give to the poor food and clothes and money equal in weight to her child. She taught him: sicut ipse referre solitus erat, timorem Domini, et ut beatae Mariae Virgini post Christum spem suam committeret. Cf. John of Salisbury, ii. 302-3.
9. I Anon. iv. 8: Mater, quae sola ut erudiretur instabat, defuncta est, et exinde circa studia Thomas se remissius coepit habere. Paternam igitur domum quasi vacuam et desolatam sublata matre fastidiens, &c.
10. His sister Agnes founded the hospital of St. Thomas of Acre on the site of his birthplace (Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vi. 646-7). For Mary, Abbess of Barking, *v.* Gervase of Canterbury, i. 242; Guernes knew her well (ed. Walberg, pp. 210-11).
11. The single example is a characteristic letter (*ep.* 672, vii. 307) to one Idonea, *dilecta filia sua*, whom he charges with serving a papal letter on Roger of York. She was under a vow of virginity and the archbishop proposes Judith and Hester as her models, and wishes her *perseverantem in virtute obedientiae et iustitiae zelo vigorem*. It would be attractive to identify her with the daughter of Baldwin de Redvers, *viriliter agens et zelum habens*

- obedientiae Dei*, who according to W. FitzStephen, iii. 102, refused to take the oath against the archbishop in 1169.
12. II Anon. iv. 82: *Seriis discendorum omissis saecularium ineptiis meditationum inhaesit.*
 13. Grim, ii. 359–60: *Venustus aspectu, forma satis elegans.* J. Salisbury, ii. 302: *Statura procerus.* W. FitzStephen, iii. 17: *Naso eminentiore et parum inflexo.* The Thomas Saga (*loc. cit.*) vouches for his pallor and dark hair, but Herbert of Bosham notes his occasional high colour in later life.
 14. W. FitzStephen, iii. 17. I Anon. iv. 6: *Quod nos quoque in majori ejus aetate multotiens probavimus.*
 15. I Anon. iv. 5: *memoriae vivacitas.* II Anon. iv. 82: *tenacis . . . memoriae;* cf. J. Salisbury, ii. 302.
 16. II Anon. iv. 82: *Parentes eum ecclesiasticae militiae servitio devoverunt.*
 17. H. Bosham, iii. 166: *Juvenis amplexus prae honesto* [i.e. on account of his good looks] *tamen castitatis semper amator vehementissimus fuit.* Cf. J. Salisbury, ii. 303.
 18. Grim, ii. 359–60; I Anon. iv. 5–6; Guernes, 206–30. For Richer, *v.* note of E. Walberg in his edition of Guernes, p. 219. He lived to be one of the signatories of Clarendon (*Materials*, iv. 207) and died in 1174. He may well therefore have given his reminiscences to the Canterbury monks and others.
 19. W. FitzStephen, iii. 20; H. Bosham, iii. 165; Grim, ii. 360.
 20. Will. Canterbury, i. 3: *Vigesimum secundum aetatis annum . . . agebat.*
 21. Grim, ii. 361: *Osbernus, Octo-nummi cognomine, vir insignis in civitate . . . cui carne propinquus erat.* W. FitzStephen, iii. 14, says Thomas became *vicecomitum clericus et rationalis.* J. H. Round, *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, 374–5, and *The Commune of London*, 113–24, has shown that Osbern Huit-Deniers was justiciar of London c. 1140–1, i.e. while Thomas was his clerk.
 22. W. FitzStephen, iii. 15: *Gilebertus cum domino archipraesule de propinquitate et genere loquebatur . . . natu vicinus.*
 23. The society has been celebrated by Stubbs in a well-known lecture. Humbert, Archdeacon of Bourges and later Urban III, was a member of Thomas's household in France (H. Bosham, iii. 529).
 24. This is implied by the twice-successful hostility of Roger of Pont l'Évêque, noted by W. FitzStephen, iii. 16; cf. *ibid.*: *Horum respectu Thomas minus litteratus erat . . . rudis et pudoratus.*
 25. H. Bosham, iii. 168: *Eo plus gratum quo plus fidum et devotum pontifici impendisset obsequium.* I Anon. iv. 9: *Nullum illi [sc. Theobaldo] familiorem, nullum . . . haberet cariorem.*
 26. Cf. his pact of mutual assistance in obtaining benefices with Roger of Pont l'Évêque and John (later of Poitiers) in Will. Cant. i. 4.
 27. Grim, ii. 359–60: *Venustus aspectu, forma satis elegans, gratum se omnibus et amabilem exhibebat.* Cf. John of Salisbury, ii. 302; W. FitzStephen, iii. 17: *omnibus amabilem.*
 28. I Anon. iv. 8: *Superexcellens ejus mansuetudo et liberalitas.* Cf. *ibid.* 9, *mansuetudinis sinceritas*; 10, *solita mansuetudine*; 12, *mansuetudo.*
 29. For the desire of esteem, cf. Will. Cant. i. 5: *popularis aurae flatibus delectari*; John Salisb. ii. 303: *supra modum captator aurae popularis*; I Anon. iv. 13: *favori populari supra modum deditus videretur*; H. Bosham,

- iii. 166: popularis aurae, quam juvenis captabat, sequens spiritum. No doubt there is literary interdependence here, but all these writers knew Thomas personally. For his love of truth, cf. W. FitzStephen, iii. 17: fallere vel falli praecavens; Grim, ii. 360: vix aut nunquam joco vel serio quicquam protulerit contrarium veritati.
30. For Theobald *v. supra*, note 25. For the king's affection, Grim, ii. 372: quem supra omnes homines [rex] adamaverat. Thomas for his part certainly loved Henry; cf. H. Bosham, iii. 276, 294: qui adeo regem [i.e. in 1164] diligebat quod eo exacerbato laetus et hilaris esse nequisset; cf. also the archbishop's letters: dilectissime domine (v. 267); domino carissimo (v. 282) and, writing to Robert of Hereford in 1166 (v. 453): Unum est, quod sine multa animi mei amaritudine sustinere non valeo. Fleo super dilectissimo domino nostro rege.
31. Foliot roundly asserts this to be public knowledge; cf. his words (v. 523-4): quis toto orbe nostro, quis ignorat, quis tam resupinus ut nesciat: vos certa litatione proposita cancellariam illam dignitatem multis marcarum millibus obtinuisse? That no notice of this payment appears in the relevant pipe roll does not necessarily prove the falsehood of the assertion, and the words of W. FitzStephen (iii. 18) that payment for the chancellorship is equivalent to simony because the office is a stage to ecclesiastical preferment may well have been intended to explain how it was that the election as archbishop of such a reluctant candidate as Thomas could be regarded as tainted.
32. Cf. their letters, v. 13-15, 20-1.
33. W. FitzStephen, iii. 20: Tanta tamen animi magnitudine . . . magnanimus magna perquirebat. Ibid. 24: animi magnitudinem. H. Bosham, iii. 172-3: in adversis magnanimum, in apparatu magnificum; cf. also his eloquent outburst, *ibid.* 176: supra omnes et prae omnibus apparebat magnificus, sicut magnus corde magnus et corpore, magnus et apparatu. Nihil circa eum nisi magnum, nihil nisi magnificentia. The I Anon. iv. 22 refers to his *magnanimitas*.
34. W. FitzStephen, iii. 23: Ut cuique erat aetas, ita quemque facetus adoptabat. Will. Cant. i. 5: conformans se regiis moribus . . . idem coe-nandi dormiendique tempus observare.
35. Cf. the sharp rebuke of Alexander Llewellyn after Clarendon, and the many examples of the freedom of speech allowed to John of Salisbury. Nor is the request to Herbert of Bosham to act as his constant monitor, though related by Herbert himself (iii. 186), to be dismissed as apocryphal; Herbert gives many instances in his narrative of advice given by Robert of Merton and other clerks at moments of crisis, and not infrequently the archbishop followed the course proposed to him.
36. W. FitzStephen, iii. 24: colludebant rex et ipse, tanquam coetani pueruli, in aula, in ecclesia, in consessu, in equitando. The whole celebrated passage might be cited.
37. John Salisb. ii. 305: Experientissimus, et bene solitus plusquam facile dici posset futura metiri. Cf. Will. Cant. i. 77 (the literary source of John's words) and, in another context, H. Bosham, iii. 436: Novimus quippe omnes dominum nostrum archipraesulem virum valde industrium in multis exercitatum et expertum multa, a quo etiam praedicta evenerunt saepissime.
38. W. FitzStephen, iii. 33-4.

39. W. FitzStephen, iii. 25: *magis unanimes et amici nunquam duo aliqui [v.l. alii] fuerunt temporibus Christianis.*
40. W. FitzStephen, iii. 25-6; H. Bosham, iii. 185-6. H. Bosham, iii. 183 quotes the opinion of many that *nimis foret absonum, et omni divino juri adversum, hominem militari potius cingulo quam clericali officio mancipatum, canum sectatorem et pastorem avium, ovium constituere pastorem*; cf. the judgement of Thomas himself (iii. 290): *superbus et vanus de pastore avium factus sum pastor ovium; fautor dudum histrionum et canum sectator.*
41. The biographers are unanimous here; I Anon. iv. 14, cites the testimony of those who had served him for twenty years; W. FitzStephen, iii. 21, quotes that of his confessor, Robert of Merton.
42. I Anon. iv. 12-13: *pravam regis voluntatem . . . caute et quasi ex occulto, ne suspicioni pateret, frustrante.*
43. Cf. the letters of Theobald and John of Salisbury, v. 9-15.
44. Will. Cant. i. 7. H. Bosham, iii. 181-2, vouches for having heard the exiled archbishop often tell of his resistance.
45. Cf. his remark to the prior of Leicester (W. FitzStephen, iii. 26): *dominum meum regem intus et in cute novi.*
46. H. Bosham, iii. 294: *Jam [sc. at Woodstock in 1163]prehendit archipraesul, qui regem ex multo tempore et familiaritate eximia noverat, cor regis elongatum ab eo.*
47. H. Bosham, iii. 228: *Mensa haec splendida tota; splendida in discumbentibus, splendida in adstantibus, splendida in ministrantibus et in epulis splendidissima . . . nihil in domo adeo pontificis faciem reddebat demissam ut mensa inops.* The whole passage, with its description of the archbishop's piercing scrutiny of the dining hall, is very characteristic both of the author and his subject.
48. H. Bosham, iii. 276, 277, twice strongly asserts this sense of personal loyalty, and though various other motives—fear, compassion for threatened colleagues, &c., are alleged by other biographers—he is possibly correct. The archbishop's own admission (given by W. FitzStephen, iii. 67), *caro enim est infirma*, is ambiguous.
49. Gilbert Foliot, writing to the archbishop himself (v. 528), can scarcely be falsifying the facts: *Dicatur itaque quod verum est . . . a fratrum suorum collegio simul et consilio dominus Cantuariensis abcessit, et tractatu seorsum habito, &c.*
50. H. Bosham, iii. 289 (on the evening of the meeting at Clarendon): *archipresul in via supra modum conturbatus videbatur, &c.*
51. Grim, ii. 383: *Nam regi quidem et ex parte paruit, et regis tamen irreparabiliter animum amisit.*
52. Grim, ii. 392, describing the incident: *indicem anxietatis sudorem ostendit.* Cf. Guernes, l. 1546: *Quant il l'oi, la char l'en prist tute a fremir.*
53. It is naturally impossible to be certain whether the archbishop's illness was wholly or in part somatic. The fact of its frequent recurrence and its sudden disappearance would suggest a psychological element, and all agree that it was brought on by his anxiety. It is worth noting that Grim tells us that it was illness that prevented Thomas from answering the king's first summons in the case of John the Marshal, and that then, as at Northampton, Henry suspected the archbishop of using his illness as a pretext (Grim, ii. 390-1).

54. I Anon. iv. 45.
55. Will. Cant. i. 39; I Anon. iv. 52.
56. I Anon. iv. 56-7; H. Bosham, iii. 326-9. I have altered the neutral phrase *aut ei simillimus*.
57. W. FitzStephen, iii. 74.
58. Cf. the letter of John of Poitiers, v. 196 ff.
59. Cf. his words in consistory to the cardinals, given by H. Bosham, iii. 352.
60. Cf. the opinion of the Archbishop of Rouen in 1166, quoted by a correspondent (v. 420): Totum quoque quod agitis extollentiae imputat aut irae. John of Salisbury was particularly outspoken, e.g., v. 216 (1165): Sicubi vero aut exorbitare a justitia, aut modum excedere videbatur, restiti ei in faciem; *ibid.* 545: Novit enim cordium Inspector . . . quod saepius et asperius quam aliquis mortalium corripuerim dominum archiepiscopum.
61. H. Bosham, iii. 358.
62. v. 545: Et proculdubio domino Cantuariensi quod ad litteraturam et mores plurimum profuit exsilium istud.
63. H. Bosham, iii. 374: Semper tam aequalis, tam compositi, tam erecti animi esset, ut in omni pressura sua vix adverti posset ullam se sentire pressuram . . . semper hilaris, semper jocundus, jocundus mente, jocundus facie, jocundus semper et aequalis.
64. Cf. in particular Grim, ii. 412-13 (Pontigny); 417-18 (Sens). For an almost contemporary parallel to his penitential immersions, *v.* the austerities of Ailred of Rievaulx (Walter Daniel's *Vita Ailredi*, ed. Powicke, 98 ff.), and for a modern example, *Father William Doyle, S.J.*, by A. O'Rahilly, 3rd. ed., 306 ff. Fr. Doyle, a heroic chaplain of the Irish Guards, fell at Ypres in the First World War.
65. Sir Thomas More to his daughter Margaret Roper, *Correspondence of Sir Thomas More*, ed. E. F. Rogers (Princeton, 1947), letter 211, p. 506.
66. These are the letters *Loqui de Deo*, *Exspectans exspectavi*, and *Desiderio desideravi*, v. 266-82.
67. W. FitzStephen, iii. 39: affabilis mansuetis, se efferentibus severus (he is referring to the monks of Christ Church); the phrase is an echo of the Rule of St. Benedict.
68. H. Bosham, iii. 417: Virum velocem in opere suo. He notes (iii. 392) that the Vézelay excommunications were resolved upon *nobis inconsultis* (i.e. his *familia*).
69. For these incidents, and the sources from which they are drawn, I may, perhaps, be allowed to refer to the account, shortly to be printed, given in the Ford Lectures of 1949.
70. John of Poitiers to Archbishop Thomas (?1165), v. 223: Dominum Saresberiensem in tantum praegravasse dicitur, ut nec uno bove hodie dominum ecclesiae Saresberiensis excolatur.
71. Cf. his letters to the bishop's brother, Richard de Bohun, vi. 186-7, his son Richard, *ibid.* 187-90, and the bishop himself, *ibid.* 191-3. His final counsel to the last-named is submission: Nihil aliud consulere possum quam . . . quod Deo potius oportet obedire quam hominibus.
72. H. Bosham, iii. 472: Quod cum audiret archipraesul, gaudio magno gavisus est, laetante justo eo quod vindictam desideratam jam vidisset. It should, however, be noted that the cause of the archbishop's rejoicing was

- not, in fact, the infliction of punishment, but the recognition of papal authority by the bishops concerned.
73. Cf. the letter of Archbishop Thomas, vii. 406, written in December 1170; also Will. Cant. i. 106.
74. W. FitzStephen, iii. 121; H. Bosham, iii. 480 *et al.*
75. H. Bosham, iii. 351-2: Etsi vos in praesenti ex qualicumque causa . . . ruitis . . . ego tamen inter vestras quasi orbis ruinas, Domino manum suam supponente non ruam. . . . Ego summi pastoris vester qualiscumque . . . conservus . . . pro ecclesia sustineo crucem confusione contempta et velit nolit probet vel improbet mundus, sustinebo.
76. H. Bosham, iii. 428: 'Frater', inquit, 'cave ne destruaturs ecclesia Dei per te; per me favente Domino non destruetur.'
77. H. Bosham, iii. 470: Inter alia dixit rex, 'O', inquit, 'quid est quod voluntatem meam non facis? Et certe omnia traderem in manus tuas.' . . . Archipraesul hoc regis verbum retulit discipulo qui scripsit haec, adjiciens: 'Et cum rex', inquit, 'mihi dixisset sic, recordatus sum mox verbi illius in evangelio, "Haec omnia tibi dabo, si cadens adoraveris me".'
78. H. Bosham, iii. 466: Sciens et prudens pacem talem qualem suscepit.
79. Cf., especially, the account of the well-informed FitzStephen, iii. 113-14, 123 ff.
80. Cf. his words to his clerk Gunter, who tried to prevent him from embarking at Witsand, whence the distant line of the English coast could be seen: 'Certe', inquit, 'Gunteri, terram video, et favente Domino terram intrabo, sciens tamen certissime quod ibi mihi immineat passio.' H. Bosham, iii. 476.
81. Herbert of Bosham (iii. 479) describes his appearance as he entered the cathedral: 'In ipso ecclesiae Salvatoris ingressu tanta faciei gratia, roseo sic subito perfusa et venustata colore.'
82. W. FitzStephen, iii. 135: 'Si liceat mihi in pace fungi sacerdotio meo, bonum est mihi.'
83. H. Bosham, iii. 484: Tam ardens, tam audens . . . gladium in medio inimicorum non reponit, sed audacter et fiducialiter exserit.
84. W. FitzStephen, iii. 122.
85. The indications of time, though precise, are at first sight contradictory. When the knights arrived, the archbishop had dined, but his servants were at dinner. The archbishop usually dined at the ninth hour, *circa diei nonam* (H. Bosham, iii. 225; cf. 219), so this could scarcely be earlier than three o'clock. W. FitzStephen (iii. 132) says: *hora diei erat quasi decima*; Ben. Peterb. ii. 1: *circa horam diei undecimam*; I Anon. iv. 70: *circa horam nonam*. It was already dusk when the archbishop entered the cathedral; cf. W. FitzStephen, iii. 140: *Vespera erat, nox longissima instabat*, and the monks had begun vespers. The reckoning followed is that by which light and darkness are divided into twelve hours each, sixty minutes in length at the equinoxes. On 29 Dec. the sun sets at 4 p.m.; the ninth hour of the day would therefore begin at 2 p.m., the tenth at 2.40, the eleventh at 3.20. Probably, then, the knights arrived at the outer gate shortly before three, but did not immediately obtain access to the archbishop.
86. William FitzStephen, Edward Grim, and John of Salisbury were present throughout at the interview with the knights and in the cathedral. William of Canterbury was a witness of the murder. Herbert of Bosham,

unfortunately for us, was not present, having been sent abroad by the archbishop a few days previously. It has often been remarked that a detailed and stereotyped vulgate version of the whole afternoon's doings must speedily have become the property of everyone connected with the cathedral, but it is noteworthy that the narratives both of eyewitnesses and others differ very considerably in detail. No doubt the official showmen had a patter, but, when it came to writing, the contemporary mixture of plagiarism and individualism resulted.

87. The suggestion that the knights committed, when drunk, a crime from which they would have recoiled if sober has received wide currency from a phrase in Mr. T. S. Eliot's play which does not, in fact, imply so much. The dramatist was no doubt recalling the words of one party of the archbishop's clerks (W. FitzStephen, iii. 137), which is supported by no other evidence. The conversation and deliberate behaviour of the knights, who had at first intended to brain the archbishop with his own cross (I Anon. iv. 71), forbids the suggestion that they were in any way *non compotes*.
88. Grim, ii. 430-1: *Diligentius singulorum considerans vultum, pacifice salutavit . . . salutantem continuo maledictis aggressi. . . . Ad quod verbum amaritudinis et malitiae vir Dei incredibili rubore perfunditur.*
89. W. FitzStephen, iii. 134: *'Frustra mihi minamini . . . Pede ad pedem me reperietis in Domini proelio.'* The last sentence defies translation; it is in Grim also (ii. 433).
90. Guernes, 5358: *'Huge, qu'as tu dit? Di!'* Grim, ii. 433: *'Quaerite, qui vos fugiat. . . . Hic, hic reperietis', posita supra cervicem manu.*
91. Grim, ii. 433: *Imperterritus residebat.* I Anon. iv. 74: *Sedit supra lectum suum.*
92. Guernes, 5364-5: *'Sir, tuz jur avez nostre conseil desdit, Fors ço qu'avez tuz dis en vostre quer estit.'* I Anon. iv. 74: *'Haec', inquit, 'consuetudo tua semper fuit, et est, ut quod tibi soli videtur, illud semper et dicas et facias.'*
93. Guernes, 5371-2: *'Tuz nus estuet murir. Ne pur mort de justice ne me verrez flechir.'* I Anon. iv. 74: *'Omnes', inquit, 'mori habemus, nec timore mortis a justitia flecti debemus.'*
94. Guernes, 5379: *'N'un sul ne vei, fors vus, qui muire de sun gre.'* I Anon. iv. 74: *'Neminem video qui gratis mori velit praeter te.'*
95. W. FitzStephen, iii. 138: *'Plerique monachi plus justo timidi sunt et pusillanimes.'*
96. Grim, ii. 434: *Arripiunt monachi, trahunt, portant, et impellunt, nec attendentes quanta convitiando opponeret ut ipsum dimitterent.*
97. W. FitzStephen, iii. 138: *Lento passu postremus vadit, omnes agens ante se, quasi oves pastor bonus.*
98. Ben. Peterb. ii. 11.
99. W. FitzStephen, iii. 139: *'Absit ut de ecclesia Dei castellum faciamus.'*
100. Will. Cant. i. 132: *'Armatus in claustro.'* *'Ad ipsos', ait, 'exeo.'* *Prohibentibus autem fratribus, &c.*
101. Grim, ii. 435-6: *'Ubi est Thomas Beketh, proditor regis et regni?'. . . . 'Ecce praesto sum in nomine Ejus qui me sanguine suo redemit; absit ut propter gladios vestros fugiam, aut a justitia recedam.'*
102. W. FitzStephen, iii. 141: *'Auctoritate Dei interdico ne quempiam meorum tangatis.'*

103. Will. Cant. i. 133: 'Reginalde, Reginalde, multa tibi contuli beneficia. Ingredieris armatus ad me?'
104. Guernes, 5547-9: Sil comencent forment a traire e a sachier, E sur le col Willaume le voldrent enchargier; Car la bas le volerent u oscire u lier. I Anon. iv. 76: Coeperuntque eum fortiter trahere, nitentes eum imponere humeris Guillelmi, et de ecclesia ejicere. Cf. Grim. ii. 436.
105. Grim, ii. 436: 'Non me contingas, Reinalde, qui fidem ex jure debes et subjectionem.' Cf. I Anon. iv. 76.
106. Grim, ii. 436: A se repulit, lenonem appellans.
107. I Anon. iv. 76: Excutiens se vir Dei impegit eum a se, ita quod fere corruit super pavimentum. H. Bosham, who was not present, recounts this incident (iii. 492), adding: Willelmus de Traci hic erat, sicut ipsemet postea de se confessus est. The archbishop may, of course, have shaken off two assailants, but Tracy in retrospect made the most of his confused recollections; thus he boasted that he had cut off the arm of John of Salisbury (Will. Cant. i. 134).
108. W. FitzStephen, iii. 141: 'Nusquam ibo; hic facietis quod facere vultis.'
109. I Anon. iv. 77: Junctis manibus operuit oculos suos, caputque inclinans percussori, dixit: 'Deo et beato Dionysio sanctoque Elfego me commendo.' Cf. Guernes, 5577-80; H. Bosham, iii. 499, adds the name of Our Lady.
110. W. FitzStephen, iii. 141.
111. Grim, ii. 437: Tertio vero percussus martyr genua flexit et cubitos . . . dicens submissa voce, 'Pro nomine Jesu et ecclesiae tuitione mortem amplecti paratus sum'.
112. W. FitzStephen, iii. 141: Curam habuit vel gratiam ut honeste caderet, pallio suo coopertus usque ad talos, quasi adoraturus et oraturus.
113. H. Bosham, iii. 471: Et revera semper et ubique magnus; magnus in palatio, magnus in sacerdotio, magnus in aula, magnus in ecclesia, magnus in peregrinatione, magnus in peregrinationis reversione, maximus vero in peregrinationis consummatione.
114. *Iliad*, xvi. 776: 'He lay . . . mighty and mightily fallen, forgetful o his chivalry' (trans. Lang, Leaf, and Myers).

NOTE. I must express my gratitude and sense of obligation to Mr. C. N. L. Brooke, who read this lecture and my annotations, as prepared for press, and added very considerably to their accuracy and adequacy.

A GREEK HISTORICAL DRAMA

By E. LOBEL

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PREFACE

THE text published in the following pages may well be thought as surprising as any recovered from the soil of Egypt. It raises problems far beyond my competence to discuss and I have presented it with a minimum of introductory matter, hoping to be instructed rather than to instruct. The Egypt Exploration Society is to be thanked for allowing it to appear in isolation instead of as a constituent of a volume of *P. Oxyrhynchus* (when it might have been long withheld) and the British Academy for consenting to include it in its *Proceedings*.

Professors E. Fraenkel and R. Pfeiffer have kindly discussed certain points with me, for which I record my gratitude. All faults are my own.

INTRODUCTION

AN Attic tragedy is usually a dramatization of the fortunes of legendary persons. Two or three exceptions are known, in which the subject is taken from recent events closely affecting an Athenian audience. But I know of no parallel to the dramatization of such a theme as the usurpation by Gyges of the throne of Lydia.¹ It looks as if it might be implied by Achilles Tatius where he writes (i. 8):

ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν ἰδιώτης ἦεθα μουσικῆς, ἡγνόεις ἂν τὰ τῶν γυναικῶν δράματα· νῦν δὲ κἄν ἄλλοις λόγοις ὄσων ἐνέπληξαν μύθων γυναικες τὴν σκηνήν. ὄρμος Ἐριφύλης, Φιλομήλας ἢ τράπεζα, Θενεβοίας ἢ διαβολή, Ἀερόπης ἢ κλοπή, Πρόκνης ἢ σφαγή. ἂν τὸ Χρυσήδος κάλλος Ἀγαμέμνων ποθῇ, λοιμὸν τοῖς Ἑλλήσι ποιεῖ, ἂν τὸ Βρισηίδος κάλλος Ἀχιλλεύς, πένθος αὐτῷ προξενεῖ. ἐὰν ἔχη γυναῖκα Κανδαύλης καλὴν, φονεῖ² Κανδαύλην ἢ γυνή. τὸ μὲν Ἑλένης τῶν γάμων πῦρ ἀνῆψε κατὰ τῆς Τροίας ἄλλο πῦρ, ὃ δὲ Πηνελόπης γάμος τῆς σῶφρονος πόσους νυμφίους ἀπώλεσεν. ἀπέκτεινεν Ἰππόλυτον φιλοῦσα Φαῖδρα, Κλυταιμνήστρα δὲ Ἀγαμέμνονα μὴ φιλοῦσα κτλ.

¹ Recounted with wide divergences or referred to in the following places: Plat. *Rep.* ii. 359; Cic. *de Off.* iii. 9; Hdt. i. 7; Justin. i. 7. 14; Nic. Damasc. fr. 47 J.; Plut. *qu.* Cic. 45; Tzetz. *Chil.* i. 3 and vi. 54; Plut. *conv.* i. 5. 1; Agath. *Anth. Pal.* vii. 567; Phot. *bibl.* (Ptol. Heph.) 150^b19. The allusion in [Lucian.] *Λούκιος ὁ ὄνος* c. 28 I do not understand.

² I do not press φονεῖ, 'murders' for 'has him murdered'. The title of the epigram of Agathias similarly has ἀπέκτεινεν.

From the introductory words and from the company in which she is found it is a fair inference that the wife of Kandaules is here not simply a woman mentioned in the course of a historical narrative. But, however that may be, inference is now superseded. Parts of three columns of what is unmistakably a play, at once recognizable from its resemblance to Herodotus i. 8 seqq. as having the postulated theme, have made their appearance in a piece of a papyrus roll from Oxyrrhynchus written in the second or third century and subsequently used on both sides for the entering of accounts.

The relation of the version of the story adopted by the playwright to that adopted by Herodotus—or rather, of that part of it which is now recovered, for we have no means of knowing that it persisted throughout and no justification for supposing so—is close, extending even to some verbal parallels, and the closeness is underlined by the divergence from both that known from Nicolaus Damascenus and that implied by Plutarch's reference in his *Greek questions*. But there are also significant differences between them. First, as to times. In the play, the queen expects Kandaules to be asleep. In Herodotus, Kandaules is just, she not yet, abed. And again, in the play, the queen dwells on having got her husband out of the way and sent for Gyges before daybreak. In Herodotus, she sends for Gyges 'as soon as day had come'. Secondly, in the play, the queen seeing a man in the room jumps first to the not unnatural conclusion that murder is intended. There is no place for this detail in Herodotus, since Gyges is in the act of going out of the room when he is detected. Thirdly, in the play, the queen infers Kandaules' responsibility for Gyges' presence from the fact that he is awake (and yet unconcerned). In the story, as Herodotus tells it, there is no ground for the queen's certitude that Kandaules is to blame. Gyges might have been impelled by a curiosity of his own.

How then is the relation between the play and the history to be conceived? There is no denying that a dramatist who chose the text of Herodotus as material might have made the modifications and additions required to produce the result before us. But an equally probable hypothesis seems to me to be that he has preserved details of a story which the historian has omitted as not to his purpose. At any rate, I see no reason to doubt on the score of date that Herodotus could have had direct access to this piece. Precarious as a judgement based on a score or so of fragmentary verses by an unidentified author must be, by every test I can devise an early date of composition is indicated.

Without exception mute+liquid (nasal) make position, there are no resolutions, the verses are in most (perhaps in all) cases end-stopped, the vocabulary displays no specifically late and some otherwise specifically Aeschylean elements. If there are any analogous criteria on the strength of which a contrary opinion is tenable, I have failed to find them. I conclude then that the piece is *prima facie* pre-Sophoclean and as such was available to Herodotus, whether or not he actually had recourse to it. To any who here interpose with a reminder of Moschion, say, and his *Themistocles* and ask whether it is not possible that early characteristics should be successfully reproduced by later or by non-Athenian authors I can only reply that this is a theoretical possibility for which I know of no way for allowing, since *ex hypothesi* a perfect imitation cannot be detected as such.

Leaving this possibility on one side, I approach with great reluctance the question of the name of the author of these verses, supposing him to have been an Athenian—or more exactly, an exhibitor of plays in Athens—of the first half of the fifth century B.C. I have only two remarks to make. The first is that though Aeschylus himself may not be ruled out, the style strikes me as too plain to be Aeschylean and it would be strange that no recognizable reference should have survived to a play so remarkable for its subject by so famous an author. We have, besides, the names of nearly all, if not (accepting Suidas' figure of 90) quite all, his plays, and this one is not, that I can see, represented among them. The second is that, Aeschylus being excluded, if the play is as early as I believe, the attribution of it to Phrynichus would not be patently absurd. He was an innovator both in respect of stage-properties and choral dances, and, more to the point, in respect of subject. The presence of a second actor (if rightly inferred in col. iii) need cause no difficulty, if it is true that Phrynichus adopted this improvement, initiated by Aeschylus, in a later play.¹ With this I leave discussion to those more at home in the subject of Greek dramatic writing.

The poetic text, which is without any addition except the paragraphi in col. iii, is written in a script of which many of the forms tend to the cursive and with a free use of ligatures. I cannot date it with any assurance but incline to think it may be assigned to the latter part of the second century. But there are

¹ Pickard-Cambridge, *Dithyramb, Tragedy, and Comedy*, p. 91: 'In the *Phoenissae*, in 476 B.C., he adopted the second actor, the invention of Aeschylus.' I do not know the ancient authority for this statement.

Col. ii

- γυ[]...εἶδον [ο]ὐκ εἵκαμα τι
 ἔδε[ι]α μὴ φόνου τις ἔνθον ἦ<ι> λ.[.]<[
 οπ[.]... τὰπίχειρα ταῖς τυραννίσιν.
 [ἐπε]ῖ δ' ἔτ' ἐγρήσσοντα Κανδαύλην ὁρώ,
 5 τὸ δρακθὲν ἔγνω κα[ῖ] τίς ὁ δράσας ἀνὴρ.
 ὥς δ' ἀξυνήμων, καρδί[ας] κυκλωμένης
 καθεῖρξα ci[γ]...[.]αισχυρ[.] βοήν.
 ἐν δεμνίῳ []τιςιν στρωφωμένη<ι>
 νύξ ἦν ἀτερ[]ἐξ[]ἀνπνίας ἔμοί.
 10 ἐπεὶ δ' ἀνῆλ[θε]]φαῆς Ἑωσφόρος
 τῆς πρωτοφειγ[γ]οῦς ἡμέρας πρ[ο]ίγγελος,
 τὸν μὲν λέχους ἡγειρ[α] καὶ ἐπεμψάμην
 λαοῖς θεμιστεῦ' ὄντα· μῦθος ἦν ἔμοί
 πειθοῦς ἐτοιμο[.]...[.]ος.[.]...[.]
 15 εὐδεῖν ἀνακτα παν[ν]υχ
 Γύγην δέ μοι κλητῆρ.[]

mentary. Between η and ζ the surface is stained and partly stripped and only the letter immediately following η is represented by more than specks of ink 7]...[, a horizontal stroke level with the tops of the letters; a stroke descending from left to right at the same level, presumably α or λ; a curved stroke at the same level, suggesting the top of c. There is ink resembling a circumflex above the syllable before β, but I cannot say whether it belongs to the poetic text. There are no other accents 9 αςεμ, I cannot verify but this is the only acceptable interpretation of the ink that I can suggest 14 .[, perhaps the left-hand end of the cross-stroke of τ, but slightly below the usual level. ψ may be a possibility, but the same remark applies]...[, the first letter appears to be represented by the top of an upright; ε has no trace of its cross-stroke but can hardly be taken as c; after ι what may be the upper part of ψ, but the upright does not ascend as straight or as high as that of ψ in l. 12, or of any φ, and I think the ink should be divided into a flat-topped letter, possibly γ, followed by the top of α; the remaining ink is indeterminate, there may be the top of a small loop on the edge of the break 16 .[, the lower left-hand arc of a circle

Col. iii

1], apparently the foot of an upright ρ is anomalous both in the size of the loop and the swing of the tail to right, but there seems no alternative .[, the foot of an upright hooked to right 3 .[, perhaps the middle curve and the start of the cross-stroke of ε 9 The surface is damaged and I am not sure I have found the right combination of the traces .[, the top of an upright followed by the upper end of a stroke descending to right, perhaps ια 10 Blotted. ημεc is acceptable though I cannot make certain of it. The last letter has a tall central upright and must be φ or, less probably, ψ 11 .[, the lower end of an upright descending into the next line; probably φ, but I cannot quite rule out ρ 13 There are traces of ink below the beginning, but I cannot say whether they represent a παράγραφος 14 .[, the lower part of a stroke descending from left; α or λ .[, perhaps a concave stroke rising to right

Col. i

The only reasonably secure footing I find in this column is in l. 13, which I take to be spoken by the queen. Whether the audience implied (which by analogy I suppose is most likely to be the chorus) also speaks I cannot make out for certain.

If anything may be inferred from Herodotus, the chorus may have consisted τῶν οἰκετέων τοὺς μάλιστα ὦρα πιστοὺς ἔοντας ἑωντῆι.

7 γλεφ, which seems certainly to have been written, is a collocation of letters for which in this dialect I see no explanation.

8 seq. ἐγγώριος as often as not is in the tragedians an epithet of the gods. If ἐγγωρίους could be read, it would be reasonable to guess that it was so here, the accusative of the object of προσκυνῶ. But προσκυνεῖν is used of the submissive attitude to superiors as well as to the divine and may here refer to a greeting of the queen by the chorus (c.g. νόμοις ἐγγωρίοις 'in Lydian fashion').

10 εἶ θέσθαι 'to settle satisfactorily' is perhaps to be recognized, or possibly (if εἶ is illusory) something like ὅπου θέσθαι τάδε 'what to make of this'.

12 πρὸ τοῦ 'heretofore', in tragedy only Aeschylean. But since Sophocles has it in the satyric *Ichneutae*, v. 4, and it is found both in comedy and prose, this may be fortuitous.

15 If, as must be assumed, the scansion is προῆδραμεν, two anomalies are to be noted. First, the scansion as long of the syllabic augment before mute+liquid is rare in the trimeters of Attic tragedy. Secondly, προε- is regularly contracted in them into προν-, even in those cases where the metrical alternative offered by προε- is easily manageable. I know of no exceptions to this rule, προῆξουσ' at Soph. *Ant.* 208 (but προῦχοις, προῦχοιο OT 1116, *Ant.* 80) being clearly of a different nature (as would be προῆσθαι Eur. *Med.* 1052, which is corrected to προέ-).

With regard to the first point see on ii. 4 seq.

17 ξυνήλικας: attested for Aeschylus alone of the tragedians, *Pers.* 784.

Col. ii

The latter part of the queen's account of the events of the night just past.

1 seqq. The general tenor may reasonably be taken to be: when I was certain Gyges was in our room, at first I thought murder was afoot. It is clear from l. 16 that Gyges has already been mentioned. It is likely that his name is to be recognized at the beginning of l. 1 and, if the principal verb is to be supplied at the beginning of l. 2, εἶδον will be the verb of a subordinate clause, for which an appropriate sense would be: when I saw it was Gyges himself not a fetch . . .

εἴκαμα: rare for what is usually called εἶδωλον. The word is otherwise found in tragedy only at *Sept.* 523. In Eur. *Elect.* 979 is found ἀλάττωρ . . . ἀπεικασθεὶς θεῶν.

εἶδε[ιχα] μῆ . . . ῆ(ι): in isolation I should have preferred to read εἶδε[ι], but there is a good deal of irregularity in this hand in the formation of the letters, εἶδε[ιχα] takes more space than εἶδε[ιχα] and I think more than is available, εἶδε[ιχα] μῆ . . . ῆ(ι) to some extent support one other. But if a more plausible reconstruction of 1 seqq. required εἶδε[ι], it is available.

τις, since on the above hypothesis it cannot apply to a person, must be supposed to go with a noun, on which *φόνου* depends, standing at the end of the line. *λόχος* (proposed by Professor Fraenkel) has the necessary concreteness implied by *ἐνδον*—a word for ‘plot’, if it could be found, would not necessarily be unsuitable on this ground—and ‘murder-ambush’ does not exhibit a bolder use of the genitive than others of which the writer may be suspected, but I cannot verify it and doubt whether any conjecture could be verified.

σπ[...]: if the foregoing is on the right lines, *ὅπ[οῖα] τὰ πείχειρα ταῖς τυραννίδιν* may be suggested here ‘. . . murder, for such is the coin in which tyrannies are paid’, but it is to be said that the dative is anomalous and I should have expected *τῆς τυραννίδος*. In general, both in verse and prose, *εὔχειρα* (and the similarly used *ἐπιτίμιον*, -α) is accompanied by the genitive of the thing required. In some cases where the verb denoting ‘pay’ is expressed a dative of the person to whom payment is made also appears, but I find nothing analogous to what is postulated here, unless the proposed deletion of the second of the two verses, Eur. *Hec.* 1086 seq.,

*δράσαντι δ' αἰσχρὰ δεινὰ τὰπιτίμα
δαίμων ἔδωκεν ὅστις ἐστί σοι βαρύς.*

is correct.

For the absence of the copula in similar clauses cp. *Choeph.* 669, *Eum.* 903, *OC.* 1347 (where, however, *ὅποῖα* is in the reverse relation to that in this verse).

4 seq. *ἐπεὶ δ' ἔτ' ἐγρήσσοντα* κτλ. The queen's inference that her husband was responsible for Gyges' presence in their room depends on his having been in bed long enough to go to sleep. The time implied must, therefore, be later than that stated by Herodotus, who says: *ὁ δὲ Κανδαύλης, ἐπεὶ ἐδόκεε ὥρῃ τῆς κοίτης εἶναι, ἤγαγε τὸν Γύγεα ἐς τὸ οἶκημα καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτίκα παρῆν καὶ ἡ γυνή . . . ὥς δὲ κατὰ νότον ἐγένετο ἰούσης τῆς γυναικὸς ἐς τὴν κοίτην, ὑπεκδύς ἐχώρεε ἕξω. καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἐπορᾷ μιν ἐξιώντα.* In Herodotus' version, moreover, she not only jumps at once, without any preliminary speculations of the sort that I believe must have occupied the three previous verses of the play, to the correct conclusion, that Gyges' purpose was to see her naked, but also to the correct conclusion, drawn from no evidence actually supplied in the narrative, that the responsibility rested on the king not on the courtier. *μαθοῦσα δὲ τὸ ποιηθὲν ἐκ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς οὔτε ἀνέβωσε αἰσχυνθεῖσα οὔτε ἔδοξε μαθεῖν, ἐν νόμῳ ἔχουσα τείεσθαι τὸν Κανδαύλεα.*

ἐγρήσσω is a Homeric form, not I believe hitherto attested for Attic.

τὸ δρασθέν . . . *ὁ δράσας*: the aorist passive of *δρᾶν* is in general rare and occurs nowhere else in tragedy, which uses *τὸ πραχθέν* in preference to *τὸ δρασθέν*. It also more commonly uses *ὁ δρῶν* than *ὁ δράσας*. The effect of this verse must therefore be estimated by its contrast with what might easily have been written, *τὸ πραχθέν ἔγνω καὶ τίς ἦν ὁ δρῶν ἀνὴρ*.

ὁ δράσας: the scansion as long of the article standing before mute+liquid is so far as I know without parallel in the trimeters of Attic tragedy. But the following observations are to be made: (i) in this piece there are four places (*προἰδραμεν* i. 15, *ἐγρησσοντα* ii. 4, *ὁ δρασας* ii. 5, *αὔπνιας* ii. 9) where vowels short by nature standing before mute+liquid (or nasal) must be scanned as long, none where they must be scanned as short; (ii) it is characteristic of some dialects which we know at an early stage of development to scan as long

either all vowels standing before mute+liquid or all vowels standing before mute+liquid in the same word, 'word' being defined to include such complexes as preposition+noun, article+noun, and the like. In particular, early writers of trochaic tetrameters and iambic trimeters consistently exhibit this scansion, and a consistent exhibition of it is *prima facie* a sign of earliness; (iii) consistency cannot be estimated on the evidence of only four instances, even though there are no counter-instances. Quite late writers (e.g. Lycophron in ordinary trimeters, Callimachus in scazons) provide sporadic examples of prepositions and even of articles scanned as long before mute+liquid (*Alexandra* 522; *Ἰαμβ.* i. 9, 10, ii. 12, &c.).

In sum, then, this metrical evidence is consistent with and even favours the hypothesis that the author of our play was writing at a relatively early date. It is insufficient to prove it.

6 ὥς δ' ἀξυνήμων corresponds to Hdt.'s οὐτε ἔδοξε μαθεῖν, 'pretending not to know what was going on'. ἀξυνήμων is cited from only one other place, *Agam.* 1060, where it means 'not comprehending what is said' (from which place the ἀξυνήμωνων of Tzetzes, *ep.* 80, is no doubt derived).

καρδίας κυκωμένης: cp. θυμέ, θύμ' ἀμηχάνοις κήδεσιν κυκώμενε Archil. 66.

In Attic the synonym *ταράσσειν* (often coupled with *κυκᾶν*) or *θράσσειν* is of commoner occurrence, e.g. *ταράσσει καρδίαν* Eur. *Bacch.* 1321 (*ταραξικάρδιον* Aristoph. *Ach.* 315). For the sake of the general resemblance Soph. *Antig.* 1253 seq. μή τι καὶ κατὰσχετον κρυφῇ καλύπτει καρδαίαι θυμουμένηι may be also adduced.

7 καθεῖρξα *cīga* or *ciγῆι* (the second, it may be noted, not attested for Aeschylus) is scarcely to be doubted and the sense of the whole line is clearly something that corresponds to Hdt.'s οὐτε ἀνέβωσε αἰσχυνθεῖσα. But this must mean 'she did not cry out at the shame put upon her' and I am unable to suggest a satisfactory way of eliciting the like from what remains of this verse. *πᾶς*[αν] is a natural enough interpretation of the signs before *αἰς* but [αν] is too short by a letter or more, and both *αἰσχύνης βοήν* and *αἰσχύνῃ βοήν* would, I suppose, imply that the queen was ashamed to cry out, not that she made no sound in spite of having been insulted. To express this I should expect *ἀμφί, ἐπί, οὐνεκα*, or something analogous (e.g. *καίπερ αἰσχυνθεῖσα*) but find nothing suitable. Nevertheless, the possibility that the playwright differed from the historian in making the queen say here simply 'I was ashamed and made no sound' seems to me very remote, more remote than that *αἰσχύνῃς βοήν* should mean 'a cry on account of insult'.

8 *ἵτιςιν* at first suggests a correspondence here to Hdt.'s ἐν νόῳ ἔχουσα *τείσσειν* τὸν Κανδαύλεα. But *περὶ τίςιν στροφωμένηι*, if it is Greek at all, could only mean 'habitually engaged in revenge', not 'revolving thoughts of revenge', and there is no other visible instance of resolution in these verses. I am, therefore, driven back to proposing *φρον]τίςιν στροφ.* 'going backwards and forwards in thought' cp. Soph. *OT.* 67 πολλὰς δ' ὁδοὺς ἐλθόντα *φροντίδος* πλάνοις. Achilles in *Il.* 24. 5 unable to sleep *ἐστρέφετ' ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα*, and if *στροφωμένηι* can simply represent this, *φροντίσιον* might be 'because of my worries'. There seems to be no chance that 'care-tossed' could be meant, for which *φροντίςιν στροβουμένηι* might have been written (*v.* Aesch. *Agam.* 1215 seq., *Choeph.* 202 seq., 1051 seq.).

9 ἀτερ[: ἀτερπής (Aesch. *Suppl.* 685 of diseases), ἀτέρμων (cp. Soph. fr. 434 τῶι γὰρ κακῶι πάσχοντι μυρία μία νύξ ἔστιν and Pearson's note) are among the possibilities.

10 ἐπεὶ δ' ἀνῆλθε λαμπρὸν ἡλίου φάος *Agam.* 658.

Herodotus puts the time later: ὥς δὲ ἡμέρη τάχιστα ἐγεγόνεε.

]φαής: παμφαής occurs in Aeschylus, Sophocles (who also has παμφεγγής, of the twinkling of the stars), and Euripides, εὐφαής in none of them, though Aeschylus has εὐφεγγής.

11 Cp. *Il.* 23. 226 seq. πρωτοφεγγής is new; προάγγελος new to tragedy. Ion of Chios, fr. 10, refers to Venus in similar terms as αἰοῖον . . . ἀστέρα . . . αἰελίου . . . πρόδρομον.

12 τὸν μὲν sc. Κανδαύλην. The corresponding δὲ is in l. 16.

λέχους ἤγειρα: cp. μὴ . . . εὐνᾶς ἐγείρετε *Eur. H.F.* 1050. The genitive as in, for example, εὐνῆς ἐπαντεῖλασαν *Agam.* 27. I find no other example of ἐγείρειν, even followed by ἐξ, accompanied by the word for the place from which the sleeper is roused, but ἐκ λεχέων ἀνεγείραι is found at *Od.* 4. 730.

κάξεπεμψάμην: the middle is not common in the simple sense 'send' (not 'send for') but cp. Soph. *Aj.* 612 (lyr.) ἐξεπέμψω and similarly *Pers.* 137 (lyr.) ἀποπεμψαμένα (v.l. προ-).

13 θεμιστεύειν τινι in the sense of 'dispense justice to' apparently only at *Od.* 11. 569. At *Ion* 371 it is used for προφητεύειν.

μῦθος ἦν: asyndeton, as often when the preceding clause is enlarged or explained. Twice together Soph. fr. 149 P.

13 seqq. The general sense is evident: I got him out of the house without difficulty by saying that a king ought to start work before daybreak. But I see no way of attaining certainty about the construction in detail. It does not seem impossible that μῦθος ἦν ἐμοί πειθοῦς ἐτοιμο[is complete in itself, 'I had to hand a persuasive speech'. μῦθος πειθοῦς is no more out of the way as Greek than ἐτολίδα . . . τρυφᾶς *Phoen.* 1491, or φίλτρα τόλμης *Choeph.* 1029, εὐρημα κυμφορᾶς *Hērph.* 716, μνήμης . . . καὶ σοφίας φάρμακον *Plat. Phaedr.* 274c. But I do not myself believe in this theory of the construction and should guess that the genitive πειθοῦς depended on a noun (which ἐτοιμο[qualifies) meaning something like 'producer'. Only one of the advantages of this alternative is that l. 13 may then be regarded, like the rest, as end-stopped.

Somewhere in l. 14 or l. 15 room must be found for the equivalent of οὔτι ἀπρεπὲς εἶη.

15 Obviously modelled on *Il.* 2. 24 (= 61) οὐ χρὴ παννύχιον εὐδεῖν βουλευφόρον ἄνδρα ὧι λαοὶ τ' ἐπιτετράφαται καὶ τόσσα μέμνηεν. πάν[νυχον is therefore probable, but a variation is possible in the mode of expression.

16 I think κλητῆρε['went to fetch' slightly more likely (as a reading) than κλητῆρο[sc. ὕπο 'I ordered to come', though Aeschylus, the only tragedian who has the word, has it only in the singular. Herodotus says simply ἐκάλεε τὸν Γύγεια.

Col. iii

If at the bottom of col. ii the queen says she has sent for Gyges, it would not be unexpected that col. iii should contain the exchanges between them. On this hypothesis I see nothing forced in taking vv. 1-8 as the end of a

speech by the queen, asking for an explanation of his outrageous conduct, vv. 9-12 as a request by Gyges to be heard in his own defence, v. 10 as permission for him to speak.

It would follow that at least two actors were required.

6 χρυε[: perhaps 'were you bribed?' Then l. 8 δρᾶσα[ι?

13 λέγοις ἄν ω[it is possible that there is a deliberate echoing of the previous verse, in which case there is some clue, though an insufficient one, to the articulation of εμαίκανω[, which otherwise is multifariously ambiguous.

14 I should guess αὐδῶντι.[rather than Ἀυδῶν τι.[.



OBITUARY NOTICES

PLATE 10



JOHN DEWAR DENNISTON

JOHN DEWAR DENNISTON

1887-1949

ANYONE who knew John Dewar Denniston was sure to be impressed by the remarkable consistency of his life and character. Free from paradoxes or contradictions, he gave himself with a whole-hearted devotion to a few chosen aims and was deflected from them only by the call of his country in two wars. Almost from the beginning his education fitted him to be a classical scholar. Born in India in 1887, he never knew his father, but was brought up, largely in Oxford, by his mother, who imparted to him her own taste for books and music. At the Dragon School, which he attended from 1896 to 1899, he received the nickname of 'Denny' by which his friends called him all through his life, won most of the classical prizes, wrote a charming and remarkably mature poem on Jephtha, and had a quick temper which other boys liked to provoke. At Winchester, where he won a scholarship at the age of twelve and stayed until 1906, he began shakily with a form-master who found him 'inattentive and troublesome' but was fortunate in being better understood by the then Second Master, M. J. Rendall, who fostered his gift for Latin and Greek Composition until he won the chief prizes for them. Among his contemporaries were many who afterwards rose to distinction, and his chief friends were H. A. de Montmorency, Cyril Asquith, R. Y. Gleadowe, Arnold Toynbee, David Davies, and H. T. Wade-Gery. He entered fully into Winchester life, played football in the College VI, broke the record for the Junior Half-Mile, and became a College Officer. At the same time he discovered the taste for music, which was to remain with him as second only to his love for the classics. In the company of his friends, L. W. Hunter and F. G. Schuster, and encouraged by W. A. Pickard-Cambridge, who was then a master, Denniston began to listen to all the music that he could, to study scores with a scholar's attention, and even to play the cello himself with a skill which he always derided but which enabled him to take a reputable part in performances of chamber-music. From Winchester he took a classical scholarship to New College, Oxford, where in due course he was awarded a first class in Classical Moderations and won a Craven Scholarship. 'Greats' was not so much to his liking, and it is

perhaps not surprising that, with his mind full of classical scholarship and music, he got no more than a second class. After a short period of teaching at University College, Oxford, and some months of study in Germany, where he mastered the language and made his first acquaintance with German learning, he was elected in 1913 to a tutorial fellowship at Hertford College, and kept it till his death.

Denniston had just settled in to his new work when war was declared. He joined up at once and was commissioned in the King's Own Scottish Borderers. He went to France in 1915, was twice wounded, and, after his second convalescence, was appointed to a post in the War Office which he kept till the end of the war. He had been an excellent fighting soldier and now turned his experience to good purpose on the Staff. His department was concerned with the conduct of the Salonica campaign, and Denniston found the work much to his liking. Just as at school he had studied Napoleon's first campaign with a passionate concentration and made good use of it in the scholarship examination at New College, so now his remarkable grasp of detail and his imaginative insight into major problems of strategy won him the respect and trust of his superiors, and it was appropriate that in due course he received the O.B.E. (Mil.) and the Belgian Croix de Guerre. He was at home with intellectual soldiers, whose directness and simplicity responded to something in himself, and he had a particular regard for General Sir Frederick Maurice, with whom he was in close contact. Indeed his military colleagues so accepted him that they forgot that he was a 'don', as is shown by a story which he liked to tell. He was told to prepare for the War Cabinet an appreciation of the military situation in the Near East. He submitted his draft to his superior officer, a general, who congratulated him on his remarkable grasp of military principles but added that 'as a piece of composition, its style and grammar left a good deal to be desired'. In the autumn of 1918 Denniston went on a mission to the Near East and saw Greece for the first and last time. Soon after the armistice he was demobilized and returned to Oxford.

On 5 July 1919 Denniston married Mary Morgan and began thirty years of unbroken happiness with her. At Hertford he had plenty to do. The number of undergraduates was much greater than in 1914, and tutors were in short supply. Denniston did his full share of work. He taught for Classical Moderations, lectured in most terms, especially on Greek Prose Composition and

Aristophanes' *Frogs*, and did a large amount of examining. If his main business was to teach composition and translation, he was not one to complain of any monotony, since for him these were the foundation of all sound classical learning. Though he could be formidable to any pupils who idled or were not interested, there was little which he would not do for those who wished to learn, even if their natural gifts were of no high order. He would go through a composition with great care, correct 'howlers' with a dashing disdain, explain exactly what a word meant or a construction implied, suggest alternative and better ways of doing it, quote relevant passages from ancient authors, and raise delightful points of controversy on the uses of language. His pupils liked and admired him because they knew that he was a master of his craft, who would pass nothing shoddy and would spare himself no pains to get the right answer to a problem. Tutors of other colleges soon realized his worth and would send their best pupils to him for a final polish before University scholarships. This meant that many of the ablest classical scholars between 1919 and 1938 came directly under Denniston's influence and profited greatly by it.

In Denniston's approach to classical studies composition had a central place. He believed that you cannot claim to know a language unless you can write it, and insisted that a proper understanding of classical literature is impossible without the exact discipline provided by composition. He was not, however, an uncritical advocate of composition as it was taught at schools and universities in his early years. Indeed he felt that its practitioners tended to move away from the study of classical texts and actual usage to that of modern versions and to produce inbred, artificial results, which might look elegant but were fundamentally unsound. Even so respected a book as *Cambridge Compositions* received his strictures on the ground that too often its contributors shirked real difficulties by a showy brilliance. Much though he admired the work of H. A. J. Munro and R. C. Jebb, he thought that even they did not fully satisfy the highest standards of accuracy and faithfulness to actual usage. He believed that the first duty of anyone who translates from English into Latin or Greek is to reproduce as exactly as possible the meaning of the English as a Roman or a Greek would have expressed it. His first aim was scientific. Once this demand was met, he was more than ready to give a place to elegance, but he would never allow it to be a substitute for exactness.

This interest in composition led Denniston into a productive

venture. In 1923 he was the leading spirit in creating a Composition Club among his fellow teachers of the classics. The other members were J. G. Barrington-Ward, J. Bell, C. M. Bowra, A. N. Bryan-Brown, T. F. Higham, and M. Platnauer. They were all tutors of their colleges, and there was no great difference of age between them. They met at tea once a fortnight during term to discuss for an hour or so versions which had been circulated in advance. The Club continued to meet regularly until the outbreak of war in 1939 and brought much profit and enjoyment to its members. At these meetings Denniston was always to the fore. His criticisms were much to the point, sometimes advanced with a genial violence in the hope of provoking a robust defence, sometimes tentative and modest. His appeal was always to actual practice. If this could be brought in evidence against him, he withdrew immediately and gracefully, but, if it was on his side, he never allowed that modern taste was a more reliable guide than ancient practice. His profound knowledge of the classical texts enabled him to dispel many false notions derived from the traditional practice of composition and made it dangerous for his companions to make statements for which they had not verified the references.

The results of these meetings may be seen in *Some Oxford Compositions* published by the Clarendon Press in 1949. It contains a large selection from the pieces discussed and shows the quality and range of Denniston's own work. He excelled at Greek Prose and was equally accomplished in the Platonic and the Demosthenic manners. If the first produced more dazzling results in versions from Shelley and Meredith and Dorothy Sayers, the second was in its own way equally successful in dealing with Fox and Pitt and Bright. Before putting a passage into Greek he would study the English with great care until he was certain not only of the meaning but of the nuances and implications. This gave to his versions a special faithfulness not merely of language and grammar, but of spirit and tone. For instance, a less serious scholar might think that he overdid a passage from John Bright which runs:

You recollect how we were dragged into the Russian war,—how we 'drifted' into it.

For this Denniston writes:

μὲμνησθε γὰρ δήπου τοῦ πρὸς Θηβαίους πολέμου, ὄντινα τρόπον εἰς αὐτὸν εἴτε πρὸς βίαν ἠναγκάσθημεν ὑπὸ τινων εἴτε, τὸ θρυλούμενον δὴ τότε, κατὰ ροῦν ἠνέχθημεν.

His version is certainly longer than the English, but Greek is on the whole more expansive, and Denniston's version gets all the implications and undertones of the original.

Denniston's insistence on accuracy and correct usage did not blind him to the claims of composition as an art. He never failed to impart to his versions a classical grace and finish or to provide many lively and sprightly touches. He had indeed such a love for the great masters of Greek prose, and especially for Plato, that he could not fail to make every effort to recapture something of the authentic variety and inventiveness. For every word and every phrase he found an equivalent at once exact and exciting, and the final result was itself an accomplished piece of art. For instance, in translating a piece of Dorothy Sayers he had to deal with something which was undeniably conversational but had none the less a literary distinction:

Well, Felicity got tired of being dragged through the social round in her darned muslins and gloves that had been to the cleaners—and she had the spirit to resist her mother's perpetual strategies in the match-making line.

This called for something in Plato's most dashing manner, and got it in Denniston's version:

ἡ δὲ Μυρρίνη μεστή ἐγίγνετο πανταχόσε πρὸς τὰς συνουσίας περιελομένη, κροκωτὸν ἡμφιεσμένη, κατατετριμμένον καὶ στρόφιον πολλάκις ἤδη πρὸς τὸν κναφέα φοιτῆσαν, ἔτι δὲ νεανικωτέρα ἦν ἢ ὥστε πείθεσθαι τῇ μητρὶ ἀεὶ τι τεχναζούσῃ καὶ προμνωμένη ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς.

This is certainly Plato, but it is also Miss Dorothy Sayers.

On this solid foundation of linguistic knowledge Denniston built his works of scholarship. His first book, *Greek Literary Criticism*, which appeared in 1924, was a modest enough affair, consisting for the most part of English translations from Greek critical writings about literature. Most of the translations are the work of other hands, and Denniston's own part is confined to the task of selection, an Introduction of some thirty pages, and a few short pieces of translation. It is hardly necessary to say that the selection is admirable and provides a first-rate introduction to this branch of literary history. But the book is more interesting because it illustrates Denniston's own tastes and standards. Modest as he was in all theoretical matters and unwilling to claim any kind of philosophical outlook, he had a logical and orderly mind which pierced to the heart of a problem and faced its issues squarely. He was much too fond of literature to be satisfied by conventional views, and he knew not only what he

liked but why he liked it. His Introduction reveals both the independence of his judgements and his complete fairness of mind. It is characteristic of him that he found Aristotle too formalistic and had a great admiration for the treatise *On the Sublime*. It is hardly less characteristic that, though he loved all technical questions of style, he was fully aware of the limitations of Demetrius and Dionysius and felt that they did not get to the heart of their problems.

In 1926 Denniston published a more solid work, his commentary on the first two *Philippics* of Cicero. It is perhaps not a book that one would have expected him to write, since it is concerned more with historical than with linguistic matters. But once Denniston became interested in the *Philippics*, he saw that any full appreciation of them as literature demanded a knowledge of their historical background. So he set about to reconstruct this and to provide a full historical commentary to the two speeches. His notes are rich in information about the complex history of the time, and his intellectual grasp is well displayed in the thorough discussion of such topics as the Roman auspices, the distribution of provincial governorships, and the equestrian juries. Nor does he neglect wider issues but debates the possibility that Antony was turning into a tyrant and asks if Cicero's opposition to him was based on any consistent principles. The edition proved that, when Denniston turned to historical study, he was well equipped for it and gave to it the same thoroughness and openness of mind which characterized his other work.

Denniston's next venture in scholarship reflected his most central tastes. In his love of the Greek language and his desire to understand its workings as fully as possible, he had for some time been interested in the particles, and now he set to work on a comprehensive book about them. With prodigious industry he read the whole of Greek literature down to 320 B.C., analysed its use of particles, and recorded his results in a series of immaculate note-books. He read slowly and carefully, determined always to find out what a sentence meant and what the particles did for its meaning. If he was in any uncertainty, he would consult all available commentaries or send post-cards to anyone who might be able to answer his questions. As he collected the material, he would analyse and arrange it, until the whole vast mass of material fell into order and was presented to the world in 1934 in *The Greek Particles*.

Though the subject had been treated before, it had never received anything comparable to the care and detailed handling

which Denniston gave to it. Nor indeed had it been treated in quite the same way. Denniston's first and main concern was not with the history of words but with their actual usage, and for this reason he cut down etymological discussion to the minimum. He professed to have no competence in it and was in fact sceptical of it, but his real reason was a sound conviction that, even if we can discover the origin of a word, what matters is how it is actually used. For this lack of theoretical speculation Denniston provided a magnificent compensation by his rich citation of examples, claiming in his Preface that 'the reader should be enabled to *bathe* in examples'. His first aim was to show actual usage in all its variety and abundance; when this was done, he was ready to provide such explanations as might be useful. If translation was necessary to explain the meaning of a passage, he would give it, but always on the understanding that its first use is to make the meaning clear. He kept his mind throughout on the main topic, the usage of particles and the clarification of this by massed examples. This massing is done with great discrimination and grasp. The book, despite its 600 pages, is well constructed, and the transition from one subject to another follows a logical plan. The whole performance leaves an indelible impression of great intellectual power and accomplishment, and it is not surprising that in reviewing it for the *Classical Review* Professor W. L. Lorimer concluded by saying that 'this is not merely an unusually good and important book, but a really great work of scholarship'.

The great contribution of *The Greek Particles* to scholarship is that it enables us to understand more fully and more exactly than ever before a very large number of passages in which particles play a part. Even so innocent-looking a word as *καί* receives 40 pages, which show how various its workings are and justify a story, no doubt apocryphal, that Denniston was once heard saying to a pupil 'Of course, *καί* can mean "and"'. Denniston often proves traditional dogma to be wrong and in so doing throws a new light on many passages. Thus it used to be assumed that there is always a distinction of meaning between *εἰ καί* and *καὶ εἰ*, but Denniston, while admitting that such a distinction may be made, proves that it is not universal, as anyone must admit who looks at such Homeric variants as *Il.* v. 410 and xiii. 316. More far-reaching in its results is his discussion of *γάρ*, which, as he shows, may be used not to follow the clause which it explains but to anticipate it. In the same way *δέ*, which is normally just connective, can be used with many differences

of nuance and may even have the force of γάρ or οὖν or ἤ. Denniston would have been the last to claim that these were entirely his own discoveries and liked to show how good editors had anticipated him on this or that point. But what Denniston did was to show that many cases, which the grammarians had thought corrupt or abnormal, were right and that the whole use of particles was both more orderly and more elastic than had hitherto been recognized. His work settles the meaning of many passages in which an insufficient knowledge of particles had permitted interpretations against Greek usage, and for countless others it provides a new point and precision.

Of course *The Greek Particles* does much more than this. It is an anatomical study of an important part of the Greek language and, as all such studies should, shows how the language actually worked. Those who once felt that the particles are on the whole rather tiresome and unnecessary now saw that they are an indispensable element in providing Greek with its clarity and ease. Through them it has a far greater fluency than is possible even for Latin. Not only do they help the construction of an argument or a paragraph; they allow a remarkable degree of precision in single sentences and phrases. In any comparative study of languages Denniston's book is indispensable, since it illustrates with powerful scholarship a linguistic feature which Greek possesses to a remarkable degree, and which may now be used to provide a standard of comparison for other languages in which particles exist but not with the same richness and variety.

Perhaps the best way to illustrate the intellectual power and distinction of *The Greek Particles* is to quote a characteristic passage from it. In discussing ἄρα μή Denniston shows that the traditional views are wrong and proposes his own solution:

It is commonly, but wrongly, said that ἄρα μή expects a negative answer. Now the questions which, *par excellence*, expect an answer of a particular kind, positive or negative, are rhetorical questions: and it is significant that the orators never use ἄρα μή, though they use ἄρ' οὖν very freely. ἄρα μή is in fact exceedingly rare altogether. In classical Greek, there is one (doubtful) example in Aeschylus, two in Sophocles, eight in Plato, four in Xenophon (three of them in Socratic writings): none in any other author. The force of ἄρα μή is not *num*, but 'Can it be that . . .?' ('Doch nicht etwa', Stallbaum on Pl. *Ly.* 213D). It does not necessarily imply the expectation of a negative reply, but merely that the suggestion made it difficult of acceptance (though the alternative may be even more difficult or actually impossible). It expresses, in fact, an antinomy, a

dilemma, an *impasse* of thought, or, at the least, a certain hesitancy. This interpretation is excluded in none of the passages, and is imperiously demanded in some. As a cautious and tentative form of expression, ἀρα μή questions, like μή questions, are naturally commoner in Plato than elsewhere. (pp. 47-8.)

This passage is typical of Denniston's temper and method. After a close study of all the examples he is able to dismiss the traditional view and to put forward his own alternative to it. He is at once original, neat, fair, and modest, and his argument is irresistible.

The publication of *The Greek Particles* proved that Denniston was, as his friends already knew, one of the best Greek scholars of his time. It was therefore only natural that, when Professor Gilbert Murray retired from the Regius Chair of Greek in 1936, many expected that Denniston would succeed him. There is no doubt that Denniston would have made an admirable professor, since he was not only a distinguished scholar in his own field but had by his personal influence and character found a special place in Oxford, where many classical scholars discussed their problems with him and relied greatly on his judgement and learning. He would also have liked the post, since it would have given him more time for research and for writing the books which he hoped to write. But the Crown, with whom the appointment lay, decided otherwise, and Denniston accepted the result with perfect good humour and a characteristic humility, continuing to be a college tutor as before.

After the publication of *The Greek Particles* Denniston began an edition of the *Electra* of Euripides, which was eventually published by the Clarendon Press in 1939. The book is one of a series in which various scholars edited plays from the text of Gilbert Murray in the Oxford Classical Texts. It is not easy to edit another man's text, and Denniston solved the difficulty simply and candidly by stating his own points of disagreement whenever they occurred. The book gave Denniston opportunities, denied by the nature of *The Greek Particles*, of showing his ability in textual and literary criticism. As a textual critic he thought that emendation had more or less reached its limit in Greek tragedy and that the critic's task was mainly to choose the most probable of corrections already made. His choice on such matters was made after a careful examination of the relevant facts, and his judgement was remarkably sound. If at times he seemed somewhat obstinate in keeping a reading which others disliked, he was always ready to produce good reasons for doing

so. He maintained throughout his ample commentary a sanity and a common sense which enabled him to be right where other more renowned scholars are wrong. He was particularly competent in dealing with choral passages, since he knew Greek metric as few editors of Euripides have known it. Above all he gave special attention to the precise meaning of the Greek words and elucidated many fine points of language.

In these respects Denniston did what might have been expected of him, but he did more than this. He was interested in the *Electra* not merely as a text but as a poem and a play. His Introduction shows how well aware he was of the way in which a Greek play was produced and what liberties Euripides took with the old story. Succinctly and quietly he sketches the points of comparison between Euripides' play and the plays of Aeschylus and Sophocles. He has much of interest to say on the treatment of moral issues and on the delineation of the characters. Points merely mentioned in the Introduction are developed in the commentary with care and learning. Denniston does not indulge in rash fancies or over-subtle interpretations but assumes that Euripides wrote for an audience of average Athenians who would understand his words in their normal and natural sense. He saw that a sequence of thoughts which is logically unsound may be quite sound psychologically, and did his best to explain what a speech or a dialogue means in human, dramatic terms. Though Denniston himself regarded his *Electra* as rather a by-product, it remains an excellent book which faces serious problems and answers them with abundant scholarship and keen literary insight.

In 1939 Denniston's career of scholarship was again interrupted by war. Though he was well above the age for national service, he felt that he must play his part. He had always been a keen and critical student of international affairs and kept himself remarkably well informed about them. He had never had any illusions about Hitler's ambitions, and was not surprised when war came. He was given a civilian post in the War Office and threw himself into his new duties with great energy and enthusiasm. He was fortunate in being able to work near Oxford and to live in his own house. His duties were of a confidential character, but his colleagues all speak with admiration of his industry, acuteness, and capacity for absorbing details. He liked his work, but the strain of the war years told on him. When he came back to his old work in 1945, he had aged considerably and seemed for a time to have lost some of his fire. He

had in the years after 1919 suffered acutely from arthritis in the hip, and though he bore it with heroic fortitude, it cannot but have impaired his strength. Fortunately in 1936 he found a treatment which greatly alleviated the pain and after that was not troubled much by it. He survived his war duties with all his powers intact and was delighted to leave the War Office and to return to various projects which he had been forced to abandon during the war.

The chief of these was a study of Greek lyric metres. For this he was admirably qualified not merely by his scholarship but by his excellent ear and knowledge of music. He had for long been dissatisfied with current books on the subject, and, though he admired Wilamowitz's *Griechische Verskunst* as a great pioneering work, he felt that it was often too dogmatic and even too slapdash to be the final word on so complex a subject. He derived much of his own theory from Wilamowitz, but worked out the implications with a far greater care and precision. With his usual thoroughness he began by analysing all the extant passages of lyrical metres and then proceeded to form his ideas about them. He did not live to write the book, and his notebooks, rich though they are as a collection of material and comments, too seldom show what his final views would have been. Fortunately his article on 'Greek Metre' in *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* is a model of clarity and shows that he had solved some of the main problems to his own satisfaction. It is certain that if he had finished the book, he would have done for lyric metres something comparable in its own way to what he had already done for the particles.

Denniston also worked at an edition of Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* and left a manuscript sufficiently complete for possible publication. In this he set himself a limited aim. He knew that it would be useless to produce anything comparable in scale or intention to Professor E. Fraenkel's monumental commentary, but he felt that something simpler was needed, in which the main movements, ideas, and characters of the play could be explained shortly and clearly. He did something similar for Aristophanes' *Frogs* and also put into literary form his notes on Greek prose style, a subject which had interested him for many years and on which he had many illuminating things to say. In the intervals of working on these subjects he gave gallant service to *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, in which he was responsible for the entries on Greek literature. He settled what articles should be written, and by whom; when they came in, he went through

them with great care, suggesting many improvements and corrections. No trouble was too much for him if he thought that the book would in the end benefit by it. With all these activities he was busy and happy in his work when on 16 February 1949 he had a stroke. After a few weeks of careful nursing he seemed to have regained much of his old self and looked well on the mend when he went away for a short holiday at Church Stretton and died suddenly from thrombosis on 2 May. The book, *Some Oxford Compositions*, which he had guided through the press and to which he looked forward during his illness, came out too late for him to see it.

Though Denniston was primarily a classical scholar, he had other interests to which he gave much time and devotion. The chief of these was music. He carried to Oxford the tastes which he had formed at Winchester and made his knowledge ever wider and deeper. As a young man, he helped his friend, George Butterworth, to record folk-songs in Oxfordshire and took part in village concerts at Heyford, organized by R. V. Lennard. He was an assiduous attendant at concerts and kept a neat record of what he heard at them. He had a large collection of gramophone records to which he would listen with rapt attention. He would study scores as if they were Greek texts, and his knowledge of some composers equalled his knowledge of Greek literature. He was conscious that not all composers were equally to his taste, but he did not dismiss as worthless those whom he did not happen to like. Indeed with some, as with Bela Bartok, he made a heroic effort and only admitted after prolonged study that they were not for him. His chief love was for the great German composers of the classical tradition—for Beethoven, Mozart, Schubert, and Haydn, with Brahms following closely on them. It was perhaps his devotion to these masters and his unremitting study of them that made him less sympathetic to Wagner and Chopin and pay little attention to members of the French and Italian schools. It would however be wrong to say that his tastes were narrow or that he did not care for modern music. The truth is rather that he was passionately interested in all music but, since he had to limit the time given to it, preferred to devote himself to certain masters of whose worth he had no doubts and in whose company he was entirely at home.

Though Denniston had no great taste for administration or committees, he took his full share of them. He was librarian at Hertford College and carried out his duties with great efficiency. He edited *The Classical Quarterly* for five years, and contributors

will remember the unfailing care and wisdom with which he would go through their articles before publication. He took an active part in Faculty meetings and was largely responsible for important changes in the curriculum of Honour Moderations. His keen interest in international affairs was by no means confined to its study but made him an active member of the League of Nations Union, who did not shrink from canvassing his neighbours to join it. A life-long Liberal, he watched with horror the growth of tyranny in Europe and was among the first to offer a refuge in his house to exiles from Austria. He had, too, his lighter forms of relaxation. After his athletic youth, he kept up his taste for exercise, was a vigorous tennis-player, and was for a time interested in mountaineering. When his arthritis made such pursuits impossible, he took to watching cricket and greatly enjoyed its moments of style or drama.

Perhaps, however, his chief relaxation was conversation. Both in college and at home he liked to settle down after a good dinner for a long talk. In college he would take off a guest to his room and keep him there till midnight, while they discussed points of scholarship; at home he would engage the whole company in dispute on some question of literature or music or politics. He enjoyed debate and often assumed a deceptive air of truculence which greatly enlivened the proceedings. Indeed an evening in his company was incomplete unless he had disagreed with at least one guest on some important issue. When he did this, he would advance in perfect good humour and with full consciousness of what he was doing, statements of remarkable violence which he expected to be countered in a like spirit. The give and take of dispute was one of his chief delights, and it is characteristic of him that, after an old friend had spent a week-end with him without provoking any strong disagreement, Denniston said: 'This has been a most disappointing week-end. We seem to have been in complete agreement on almost everything.'

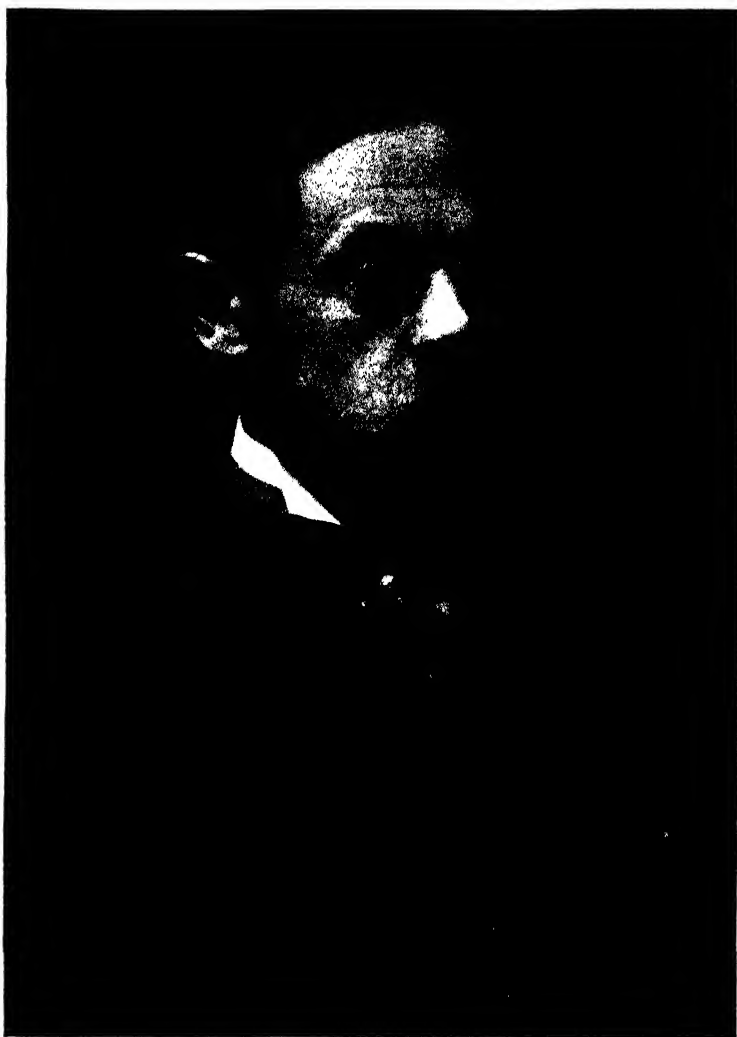
Denniston was a man of strong affections and loyalties. If he liked anyone, especially if they were scholars of his own kind, there was little that he would not do for them, and they, for their part, always left him feeling that they had not only had their knowledge increased and their minds cleared but their whole faith in learning strengthened by his inspiring example. His occasional truculence was partly good-humoured play, partly the natural reaction of a sensitive and high-minded man to what he thought foolish or wrong, as when he said of a distinguished scholar who

was not prepared to think his views out carefully: 'He suffers from sclerosis of the intellect.' Denniston was always something of a fighter, who knew that even in academic warfare it is wise to take the offensive and keep the initiative. He had a great fund of gaiety and could on occasion be delightfully frivolous and irresponsible. He shared most of his interests with his wife, and at their house in Polstead Road he was always at his best. No one who enjoyed that experience could fail to see that this was a most remarkable man, who combined the highest intellectual integrity with the most winning warmth of heart.

C. M. BOWRA

NOTE. I am deeply indebted to Mrs. Denniston, Sir H. A. de Montmorency, Professor D. L. Page, and *The Draconian* for information and help.

PLATE 11



SIR FREDERICK POLLOCK, BART.

SIR FREDERICK POLLOCK, BART.

1845-1937

FREDERICK POLLOCK was born in London on 10 December 1845 and died there on 18 January 1937, at the age of ninety-one. Pollock was one of the most learned and cultured English lawyers of his time. Belonging to a family renowned for its achievements in the legal profession, he more than any other member of that family possessed the genius of his grandfather, Lord Chief Baron Pollock. Unlike the Chief Baron, however, he never distinguished himself either in the Courts or in political life, though he was an active member of the Liberal Unionist party at its foundation, and was a Liberal candidate for Glasgow and Aberdeen Universities, but was defeated in the election. He will always be remembered for his notable career as Professor of Law and Jurisprudence and as Editor of the *Law Quarterly Review* and of the Law Reports. His chief title to fame rests, however, upon his learned and illuminating contributions to the literature of law, legal history, jurisprudence, and political theory.

Pollock was not only a scholar versed in the lore of the ages, but also a constant and eager observer of the modern world, sensitive to its trends of thought and conversant with its larger movements. To the solution of some of its most difficult legal and political problems he devoted his remarkable abilities as a lawyer-statesman. In these and many other ways Pollock proved himself to be one of the leaders of thought in the national and international life of his times. In the breadth of his knowledge, however, which was not confined to any one branch of learning, he stood out from our over-specialized age, and was far more like a man of the Renaissance than a modern. It is this humanistic outlook and culture which give character to all his writings on the subject-matters that chiefly engaged his attention.¹

¹ In writing this memoir of Sir Frederick Pollock, I have drawn chiefly upon the following published sources of information: *D.N.B.* (several articles); *Personal Remembrances* (2 vols., 1887), by Sir Frederick Pollock, second baronet, Queen's Remembrancer; *Lord Chief Baron Pollock* (1927), by the first Lord Hanworth; *For My Grandson* (1933), by Sir Frederick Pollock, third baronet, subject of this memoir; *The Pollock-Holmes Letters* (2 vols., Cambridge, 1942); and the memorial number of the *Law Quarterly Review* (April 1937), with articles by Lord Wright, Lord Maugham, Sir William

I

Frederick Pollock's great grandparents were David Pollock, saddler to King George III, and his wife Sarah Homera, a daughter of Richard Parsons, Esq. The third son of David and Sarah Pollock, who are well known in family history as persons of marked ability and high character, was Jonathan Frederick, born on 22 September 1783. Jonathan Frederick Pollock (1783-1870), Frederick Pollock's grandfather, was educated first at St. Paul's School and then at Cambridge, where he attained high distinction in mathematics and the classics, and was elected a Fellow of his College, Trinity. After a memorable career at the Bar and in Parliament, he became in 1844 Chief Baron of the Exchequer, and presided with renown over that famous Court until he retired in 1866, when he was made a baronet. He was twice married. His first wife was Frances, daughter of Francis Rivers of London, whom he married on 25 May 1813. Their eldest son, William Frederick, born on 3 April 1815, was the father of Frederick Pollock, the subject of this memoir.

William Frederick Pollock (1815-88), like his father the Chief Baron, was educated first at St. Paul's School and then at Cambridge, where he was a member of Trinity College: he distinguished himself in both mathematics and the classics. After several years of successful practice at the Bar, he became a Master in the Court of Exchequer and later Queen's Remembrancer. He was a man of scholarly tastes and abilities who took a deep interest in science, literature, and the liberal arts, and was recognized as one of the foremost Dante scholars of his time. He married, on 30 March 1844, Juliet, daughter of the Rev. Henry Creed, Vicar of Corse, Gloucestershire. Soon after their marriage the Pollocks took No. 21 Torrington Square, W.C., where on 10 December 1845 their eldest son, Frederick, was born. On 7 February 1851 they moved to No. 59 Montagu Square, W., which was ever afterwards their home.

Frederick's boyhood appears to have been exceptionally happy. In later life one of his earliest distinct memories was of evenings at home when his father used to read out Waverley Novels and his mother the plays of Shakespeare. His father's *Personal Remembrances* picture Frederick as a grave and serious

Holdsworth, and others. To two Cambridge friends, Professor Sir Percy Winfield and Professor H. A. Hollond, I am indebted for kindness in advising me as to the abridgement of my original typescript. I wish also to express my cordial thanks to Sir John Pollock, who has been good enough to help me by confirming certain facts in the life of his father.—H. D. H.

boy who was devoted to his studies, but yet sensitive to the lighter side of life. At home he was already beginning to take part in the private theatricals which his parents were fond of staging. Unfortunately he was nearsighted, the chief cause of his shyness and awkwardness of manner throughout his life.

After more than a year as a pupil in Dr. Huntingford's school at Brook Green, Hammersmith, Frederick began in 1858 his studies at Eton as a King's Scholar. Late in his life he gave in *For My Grandson* (1933) an account of his studies at Eton (1858-63), wherein he stressed the point that it was his 'particular good fortune' to be one of the pupils of William Johnson (afterwards Cory). His Greek and Latin, and his permanent interest in those tongues, were mostly of Johnson's planting; and, moreover, Johnson not only introduced him to some of the classics of English literature, notably Meredith's *Shagpat*, but taught him the living interest and importance of history.

While he was at Eton, Frederick and a school-friend had a boat and used to row on the river; and as a member of the Eton College Corps he learnt some of the rudiments of military drill. Later he was a member of the University Corps at Cambridge, and later still he was in the Inns of Court Corps and the School of Arms attached to it.

In 1863 Frederick left Eton for Trinity College, Cambridge, where he passed some of the happiest and most profitable years of his life. He remained throughout life deeply attached to the College, of which he was a Scholar and became a Fellow in 1868 and an Honorary Fellow in 1920. He won in 1865 the University Pitt Scholarship for Classics, and in 1867 was placed sixth of the Senior Optimes in the Mathematical Tripos and second in the First Class of the Classical Tripos. He was also First Chancellor's Medallist.

Many passages in Pollock's writings on jurisprudence, ethics, and philosophy prove to us that he made good use of the mathematical knowledge which he had gained at Cambridge. Chiefly, however, it was his Eton and Cambridge studies in the classics of antiquity which formed the basis of his life's work as a scholar. It is of interest to observe, therefore, that when he was at Cambridge he came under the influence of two eminent classical scholars: William Hepworth Thompson, who was Regius Professor of Greek from 1853 to 1866 before becoming Master of Trinity, and Richard Shilleto, of Trinity College, who was one of the leading classical teachers in the University.

Of Pollock's classical scholarship there could be no better

judge than the late Professor J. W. Mackail, of Oxford, who kindly wrote the following appreciation for insertion in the present memoir:

Of Pollock it might justly be said, in the words used by himself of Sir Henry Maine, that 'not only was he a humanist before he was a jurist, but he never ceased to be a humanist', and that 'nothing ever came from his hand that was not visibly the work of an accomplished scholar'. [At Cambridge Pollock won high distinction in the classics.] Under the continuous inspiration and direction of Shilleto, Trinity then sustained, while it gradually widened, the tradition of Bentley and Porson: and Pollock was one of Shilleto's favourite pupils. His rendering of a scene from Shakespeare in Aristophanic iambics, written in 1866 and printed among the Cambridge Tripos verses of 1867, elicited an enthusiastic acknowledgement from Shilleto when sent to him in manuscript. *Pollux O lepidi digne nepos avi!* was his greeting of response, and he anticipated in Pollock one who would inherit in full measure his own minute accuracy and fine literary sense, and be 'a pupil who excelled his master'.

Nor was this prediction wholly unfulfilled: for while the science of jurisprudence claimed him for its own and became the main field of his life's work, the wide area which that science covered in the history of European civilization called for extension of its bases from the ancient classics to the largely unexplored field of medieval Latin, and to the Latin literature of the Renaissance, thus passing beyond the austere limits of what was then regarded as the proper province of scholars, and rejecting what was in consequence the weakness of classical education as understood or practised at Cambridge, the belief, as Pollock himself trenchantly put it, that 'literature exists for the sake of grammar'. 'A jurist [he declared] can get on without Liddell and Scott, but not without DuCange.'

Pollock's years at the University not only developed his enlightened knowledge of the classics begun at Eton, but benefited him in still other ways. His interest in speculative philosophy was awakened: above all, after looking one day into Spinoza's *Tractatus Theologico-politicus* in the University library, he was so much attracted to that philosopher's ideas that he made their study one of his life-long avocations. Moreover, while at Cambridge he came under the influence of Edward Byles Cowell, the first Cambridge Professor of Sanskrit. It was Cowell who taught him the elements of Sanskrit and gave him an introduction to Indian philosophy and ways of thought.

In his second year at the University Pollock was elected a member of the famous Cambridge Conversazione Society, commonly called 'The Apostles'. Throughout his life, since age was

no bar to a comradeship which was not of one generation only, the apostolic fellowship gave a special zest to some of Pollock's friendships, such as those with Alfred Tennyson, Henry Maine, W. K. Clifford, Henry Jackson, Henry and Arthur Sidgwick, A. J. Butler, Walter Raleigh, and Frederic W. Maitland.

In 1867, the year in which he took his B.A. degree, Pollock was elected a member of the Alpine Club, and thereafter he had many thrilling experiences as an expert climber in the high Alps. After his most active days of mountaineering were over he became the honorary librarian of the Alpine Club, and in that capacity made valuable additions to the Club's collection of books, prints, and maps.

Before Pollock left Cambridge in 1868 he had already acquired the rudiments of fencing at the gymnasium then lately set up by the Passingham brothers. But Waite, a pupil of Pierre Prévost, to whose school of arms he attached himself on settling in London, was his first serious instructor. Throughout his life fencing, in which he excelled, was one of Pollock's chief pastimes.

II

After leaving Cambridge, Pollock became in 1868 a member of Lincoln's Inn; and he then entered an eminent conveyancer's chambers as a pupil. Pollock has himself told us that after a year in these chambers, where he had acquired 'pretty confused notions of the laws of England and the foundations of legal science', he thought seriously of returning to Cambridge and the classics. As it was, however, he went on to say, he was kept straight in his course by becoming attached in different ways to 'two great masters of the law': Nathaniel Lindley, then a leading junior in the Chancery Courts, and Mr. Justice Willes of the Common Pleas. Pollock became Lindley's pupil in the regular course, and in the summer of 1870 he was Willes's marshal on the Western Circuit.

The influence of Lindley and Willes on Pollock's career was profound. It was they who taught him to perceive clearly the great value attaching to historical and comparative studies in the treatment of English Common Law and Equity from the scholar's point of view; and it was they, moreover, who inspired him with the ambition of becoming a writer on law and jurisprudence.

In 1871, the year following his marshalship with Mr. Justice Willes, Pollock was called to the Bar by Lincoln's Inn; and he then entered upon the practice of the profession in which his

grandfather, his father, and other members of his family had already distinguished themselves.

During his early years at the Bar Pollock formed friendships that were of the highest importance to him in his chosen vocation. Prominent among these early legal friends were James Bryce, Courteney Peregrine Ilbert, Frederic William Maitland, and Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr. The influence of each of these distinguished legal scholars on Pollock's life and career was marked. It was Bryce who directed his attention to the writings of Savigny, the great Romanist, while Ilbert showed him the importance attaching to the Anglo-Indian Codes. It was Maitland who intensified his interest in the history of English laws and institutions. Holmes inspired his life-long study of the spread of English law to America and other parts of the world.

On 13 August 1873, two years after his call to the Bar, Pollock married Georgina Harriet, daughter of Mr. John Deffell, of Calcutta, a lady of great personal charm with social and intellectual gifts of a high order. After their marriage the Pollocks lived first at Bryanston Street and then at 48 Great Cumberland Place, W., a house dating from the reign of George III, where their son and daughter, Frederick John and Alice Isabella, spent their youth. On the death of his father in 1888, Frederick Pollock became the third baronet and the head of his family. In 1904 Sir Frederick and Lady Pollock moved to 21 Hyde Park Place, W., where they spent the rest of their lives. They also had a house in the country—Hind Head Copse, Haslemere, Surrey.

Sir Frederick and Lady Pollock enjoyed more than sixty years of domestic happiness.¹ During the latter part of that time they were surrounded by an intimate circle composed of their son and daughter with their families. At their beautiful London home the Pollocks welcomed in cordial hospitality, down to the very end, their many friends in the world of law, letters, science, art, music, and the stage.

In 1920, at the suggestion of the Lord Chancellor (Lord Birkenhead), Pollock took silk. It seems clear, from the available evidence, that the Lord Chancellor regarded Pollock's attainment of this high rank in the profession as a fitting recognition, not of his place in advocacy, but of his eminence in legal scholarship and of his distinguished work as General Editor of the current *Law Reports* ever since 1895.

Pollock has himself told us that after a few years at the Bar it

¹ Lady Pollock died in 1935, two years after their diamond wedding.

became clear to him that his bent was for writing and teaching rather than practice. It was in fact as legal writer, teacher, and editor, not as practitioner, that he rose to eminence in his chosen profession.

During the fifteen years ending in 1890 Pollock published nearly a dozen books, most of which were works of major importance, such as *Principles of Contract* (1876), *Law of Torts* (1887), and *Possession in the Common Law* (1888). In the midst of this intensive literary activity, which in preparatory research alone must have occupied much of his time, Pollock became a public teacher of law and jurisprudence. In 1882 and 1883 he was Professor of Jurisprudence at University College, London, while in the latter year (1883) he was elected as Maine's successor to the Corpus Christi Professorship of Jurisprudence at Oxford, a post which he held with distinction until 1903, when he resigned it. Meanwhile, from 1884 to 1890 he had been Professor of Common Law in the Inns of Court. Some of the lectures which Pollock delivered from 1882 to 1903 were published later in his *Oxford Lectures and Other Discourses* (1890) and *Essays in the Law* (1922).

Pollock delivered courses of lectures abroad as well as in England. Thus he gave the Tagore Lectures in the University of Calcutta: these he published in his *Law of Fraud, Misrepresentation and Mistake in British India* (1894). In 1904 there appeared his *Expansion of the Common Law*, a volume based on a course of lectures which he delivered in 1903 in several American Law Schools. The Carpentier Lectures which he delivered in Columbia University were published in *The Genius of the Common Law* (1912).

Although Pollock was a brilliant after-dinner speaker, yet as a formal lecturer he lacked the qualities which make for success. In the delivery of his lectures on law and jurisprudence he did not speak freely from a few notes; on the contrary, he merely read out laboriously a carefully prepared manuscript and only rarely looked at his audience. His mode of delivery was somewhat slow and hesitant and almost destitute of anything which one may describe as 'life' or 'fire', as I can myself testify, having heard one of his lectures at Oxford in 1902. Professor Edmund M. Morgan of the Harvard Law School, who in the autumn of 1903 as a student heard Pollock deliver at the School the first of his four lectures on 'The Expansion of the Common Law', writes to me:

The only spark of life in a dull lecture was when Pollock lifted his

eyes from his manuscript and remarked that a judge in one of the western States had taken judicial notice that a five-cent drink of whiskey must be a small drink. It was only later, after I had read Pollock's lecture in its published form, that I realized how much I had missed owing to his dull and bored manner of delivery.

Outside the lecture-room Pollock made a special appeal to advanced students and those who were interested in legal research. In the words of Holdsworth, 'to any serious student Pollock was kindness itself—always willing to advise and encourage. It was in his relations to these students that he proved himself a great [oral] teacher.'¹

III

In 1884, the year following his election as Corpus Christi Professor of Jurisprudence, Pollock and five of his legal colleagues at Oxford—Holland, Anson, Bryce, Dicey, and Markby—decided to found a new periodical for the promotion of legal science without neglect of practice. Pollock was chosen by his friends to be editor of the new periodical, *The Law Quarterly Review*, the first number of which appeared in January 1885. Pollock held the editorship for thirty-five years, resigning it in 1919. He was succeeded as editor first by A. E. Randall, a member of the Bar, and then in 1926, on Randall's death, by Arthur L. Goodhart, then a lecturer at Cambridge, afterwards the holder of Pollock's Chair at Oxford (now attached to University College).

Although with his customary modesty Pollock always insisted on giving to others the major part of the credit for the founding of the *Review*, many of the older members of the legal profession ascribe to Pollock himself the original idea of establishing a legal periodical for the promotion of the study of law from the view-points of history, comparison, theory, and practice. Certain it is that Pollock was the chief of those who, in the words of Mr. Justice Holmes, 'fostered scholarship and sharpened insight' by means of this famous legal periodical.² There can be no doubt, as Professor Goodhart has declared, that Pollock was the 'true creator' of the *Review*. 'To him it owes everything that makes it valuable.'³

In 1891 Pollock began his successful work as general editor of the *Revised Reports*, a republication of the Reports of cases

¹ 53 *L.Q. Rev.* 180 (1937).

² 51 *L.Q. Rev.* 4 (1935).

³ 53 *L.Q. Rev.* 204 (1937).

decided by the Courts of law and equity from 1785 to 1865. This was a valuable training for the far more difficult and important task of editing the current Law Reports for the Council of Law Reporting.

Pollock's work as general editor of the Law Reports during the more than forty years from 1895 to his death in 1937 stands out in retrospect as one of his most notable achievements. In his own person the Council's principle of unity of command had been so successfully enforced that it now seems difficult to imagine the anarchic days of reporting before 1895. The high standard of reporting which now prevails has been due in greatest measure to the skill, learning, and scholarship which Pollock devoted, so unselfishly, to his labours. He was the general editor of all the series of Law Reports; but in performing the duties of that office he was in reality the chief of the reporters. The Law Reports which appeared during the many years of his editorship might well be described, with fairness to all who helped him, as 'Pollock's Reports', on the analogy of Coke's Reports and Plowden's Reports.

Among other aspects of Pollock's professional career not the least is his work as Literary Director of the Selden Society. After the death of Maitland, the first Literary Director, late in 1906, Pollock and Vinogradoff were appointed in 1908 joint Literary Directors; and then, on Vinogradoff's retirement, Pollock served as sole Literary Director until his death in 1937.

Pollock was the ideal Literary Director of a society formed for the express purpose of publishing manuscript materials for a history of English laws and institutions. He was a trained medievalist with an intimate knowledge both of palaeography and diplomatic and of Norman-French and medieval Latin, the two languages in which most of the earlier materials were written; and he was himself, moreover, an eminent historian of the laws and institutions of England from medieval times to the twentieth century. The help which he rendered as Literary Director to the editors of the Selden Society volumes published from 1908 to the time of his death was invaluable. Pollock's own contribution to the publications of the Society was his edition of Selden's *Table Talk* (1927), based on a hitherto unpublished manuscript in the library of Lincoln's Inn.

In 1911 Pollock was made a Privy Councillor; and then, early in 1914, he was appointed by the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports to be his Official—that is, Judge of the Admiralty Court of the Cinque Ports. Although to his great regret no

actual case came before Pollock as Judge of this ancient Court, he delivered before the Society of Public Teachers of Law an address on 'Cinque Ports Jurisdiction: In the Matter of a Whale'.¹

Many of Pollock's professional activities were associated in one way or another with Lincoln's Inn, by which he had been called to the Bar in 1871. Over many years, down to the time of his death, his chambers at 13 Old Square were the centre of all his work as counsel and legal writer and as editor of the *Law Quarterly Review* and of the *Law Reports*; and, moreover, he used to visit the admirable library of the Inn almost daily, fetching himself from the shelves any books which he wanted. Becoming a Bencher of Lincoln's Inn in 1906, he was Treasurer of the Inn during the year 1931, that is to say, during that year its official Head.

There can be no doubt that of all Pollock's duties as Treasurer of Lincoln's Inn the one which gave him the most pleasure was that of presiding at the Grand Day dinners in the hall of the Inn. On other special occasions he presided with equal distinction. Thus on 21 July 1931 the Benchers of the Inn gave a dinner to a number of Canadian lawyers: Pollock as Treasurer presided. Immediately before dinner Lord Maugham, a Bencher of the Inn, approached Pollock and suggested to him in an undertone that it would add to the pleasure of their Canadian guests if after dinner he were to give them some account of Lincoln's Inn as an institution. In the words of Lord Maugham: 'After dinner was over Pollock rose and delivered without notes a most admirable history of the origin and constitution of the Inns of Court.' His after-dinner speech clearly indicated 'the range of knowledge and the extraordinary powers of memory which were necessary to enable him to deliver without preparation a most admirable address on so difficult and abstruse a subject'.²

A further delightful glimpse of Pollock at Lincoln's Inn has been furnished by Professor Henry A. Hollond of Cambridge, Honorary Bencher of the Inn, in a memorial note.

It is my belief [Professor Hollond writes], though I am not really qualified to have an opinion, that the decade between his eightieth and his ninetieth year (unfortunately in the latter year his wife died) was one of the happiest of his life. During that period he was constant in his

¹ For this address, see 41 *L.Q. Rev.* 453-6 (1925).

² For Lord Maugham's account, see 53 *L.Q. Rev.* 170-1 (1937). In response to requests Pollock set down the substance of his address in writing. Bearing the title *The Origins of the Inns of Court*, it was privately printed by the Oxford University Press in 1931.

attendance at Lincoln's Inn as a Master of the Bench, and served his year of office as Treasurer. The way in which he acquitted himself won the admiration of all. It was my privilege during his last two years to see him from time to time in the company of his colleagues, and to hear their talk about him. I shall always treasure my memory of the universal veneration and affection in which he was held by them.¹

Throughout his career Pollock was always greatly interested in American legal education and legal practice, and during his visits in the United States he made the acquaintance of many academic and practising lawyers. He not only lectured in American law schools and met some of their distinguished professors, such as Langdell, Ames, Gray, Thayer, Beale, and Williston at Harvard, but he also attended several annual meetings of the American Bar Association: at the meeting held in 1903 he read a paper on 'English Law Reporting'.² Pollock also kept in close touch with members of the French Bar. Thus in 1904 he, Mackenzie Chalmers, and Courteney Ilbert represented the English Bar at the celebration in Paris of the centenary of the *Code Civil*. Moreover, through his conversations with great scholars like Ihering, Brunner, and Gierke he kept abreast of the trends of legal thought in Germany.

In any survey of Pollock's professional activity there should be no failure to mention his work for the British Government. Thus during the years from 1891 to 1894 he was a member of the Royal Commission on Labour, while in 1892 he journeyed to Trinidad as a member of the special Commission appointed to report on the justice administered by the Supreme Court of the Colony. In October 1910 he was officially named Chairman of the Royal Commission on Public Records, a post for which he was admirably fitted. By his efficient work as Chairman of the Commission Pollock did much to further studies in the English political, constitutional, legal, social, and economic history revealed by the public records.

On several occasions Pollock helped the British Government solve political problems by his legal advice. Thus, when the famous boundary dispute of 1895-6 between Venezuela and British Guiana had reached the state of an international crisis caused by President Cleveland's special message to Congress of 17 December 1895, the British Government called upon Pollock to draft a memorandum on the British case. As a result of 48 hours' intensive labour in January 1896, Pollock prepared and

¹ *Journal of the Society of Public Teachers of Law* (1937), 50.

² See Pollock's *Essays in the Law* (1922), 241-57.

presented his memorandum. In the arbitration which followed this complicated dispute Sir Richard Webster, then Attorney-General, successfully maintained the claims of Great Britain. In writing of this arbitration Sir Richard Webster (Lord Alverstone) observed in his *Recollections of Bar and Bench* (1914): 'A most able memorandum of the British case had been prepared by Sir Frederick Pollock, which, though not in a form suitable for a case before arbitrators, yet contained all the information of importance bearing upon the matter.' But Pollock had not been asked to state a case for the arbitrators; his memorandum was for the Colonial Office.

Until the very end Pollock placed his legal learning at the disposal of the Government whenever his counsel was desired. It is especially noteworthy that just before his ninety-first birthday, which fell on 10 December 1936, Pollock had advised Sir John Simon (as he then was) on the form which the Abdication Act should take. He wrote from a sick bed, and relied on his memory alone. As Sir John Pollock, his son, has justly observed, it was the

habit of viewing everything from the standpoint of principle that made Pollock's advice on the crisis of the abdication of King Edward VIII decisive. While the legal advisers of the Crown were searching in an agitated vacuum for nonexistent precedents, Pollock went straight to first principles of constitutional usage, and drafted the heads of a Bill which, in the upshot, were very closely followed in the Act of Abdication.¹

IV

Although not attracted by the subtleties of conveyancing, Pollock found that Equity, in its broader and more enlightened features, is the intelligent companion, not the arbitrary mistress of the Common Law. In fact he took pains to point out that Common Law and Equity are not separate systems, but complementary parts of our unique system of private law.

This attitude towards our dual system of civil justice appears clearly in Pollock's *Principles of Contract at Law and in Equity*, first published in 1876. Writing as he did soon after the Judicature Act, he sought to give an equal and concurrent view of the principles and doctrines of Common Law and Equity. In the literature of the English law of contract this was an entirely new design. The second of Pollock's main contributions to our knowledge of the modern Common Law is his *Law of Torts*, which appeared for the first time in 1887.

¹ See *Pollock-Holmes Letters* (1942), Sir John Pollock's Introduction, p. xiv.

The appearance of Pollock's works on Contract and Tort, which have long ranked as classics written by a master of English legal style, inaugurated a new era in the history of the literature of our modern Common Law. Pollock achieved an advance on earlier writers by reason of two main accomplishments: first, his exposition of the fundamental principles of obligation arising *ex contractu* and *ex delicto* as found in the cases; and, secondly, his combination of an exact and penetrating analysis of modern reported decisions with historical perspective and the illumination that comes from comparison.

Of Pollock's other writings on modern English law, one of the most important is his *Digest of the Law of Partnership*, first published in 1877. In its fifth edition (1890) Pollock's *Digest* became an edition of the Partnership Act, 1890, which he himself had drafted. His Partnership Act, 1890, proves to us that as a draftsman of consolidating legislation on a highly important branch of modern English law he displayed not only consummate skill and great learning, but also a legal statesmanship of the first order.

To our knowledge of modern English law Pollock made other notable contributions, including not least of all his many articles in legal periodicals; and, moreover, he always kept his works on Contract, Tort, and Partnership abreast of the latest research and the most recent judicial decisions by bringing out new editions from time to time.

Distinguished lawyers of many lands, notably those who owe allegiance to the Common Law, have spoken in high praise of Pollock's writings on modern English law: included among them are Lord Wright¹ and the late Sir William Holdsworth,² who have placed Pollock among the makers of English law.

To these appreciations there should now be added the illuminating paragraph written especially for this memoir by Sir Percy Winfield, sometime Rouse Ball Professor of English Law in the University of Cambridge. Sir Percy, who is himself the author of standard works on Contract and Tort, here observes that Pollock's

influence on our legal literature and his influence upon law students and practitioners through his writings was of the highest value and of the widest range. He had the initial advantage of a graceful and polished style. When Pollock produced his works on Contract and on Tort, he was a pioneer in making these subjects readable by the student.

¹ See 53 *L.Q. Rev.* 151-67 (1937).

² See 53 *L.Q. Rev.* 175-89 (1937); *Makers of English Law* (1938), 279-90.

And of equal importance with the form of his works was their substance. The influence of *The Principles of Contract* and of *The Law of Torts*, especially the latter, is not to be measured merely by their repeated new editions, nor by the judicial adoption of this or that passage from either book, but by the method of approaching the problems of the Common Law which they taught to those who were to achieve the best type of success at the Bar or on the Bench. For Pollock was, above all, a great Common Lawyer. He had the ability to pick out from the confused kaleidoscope of decisions that surrounds many a legal principle the pattern of the principle itself. I learned many things from him, but I think that the greatest of them all was the true relation of decided cases to the Common Law,—that a good lawyer must never let the reports dominate him and that the Common Law will suffer most when it is taken to consist exclusively of what has been decided instead of what will be decided.

Inspired by the teaching of Mr. Justice Willes that to an understanding of English law historical studies are essential, Pollock throughout his career devoted attention to origins and development in all his writings on our modern law. Thus in his works on Contract and Tort, he dealt with the history of these two main branches of the Common Law. In some of his other writings, moreover, he still further added to our knowledge of the historical development of the English law of contract and tort. His most important contribution to the history of the English law of real property is *The Land Laws* (1883), wherein he sketched in brilliant outline the development of this branch of our law from pre-Norman times down to the end of the nineteenth century.

The idea of writing a systematic historical account of English law before the time of Edward I appears to have originated in the mind of Maitland about 1888, the year of his election as Downing Professor of the Laws of England in the University of Cambridge. Seven years later the first edition of *The History of English Law before the Time of Edward I* (1895) made its appearance, being issued under the joint names of Pollock and Maitland. Pollock's Note, appended to the Preface, reads as follows: 'It is proper for me to add for myself that, although the book was planned in common and has been revised by both of us, by far the greater share of the execution belongs to Mr. Maitland, both as to the actual writing and as to the detailed research which was constantly required.' In a letter to Holmes, dated 23 August 1895, soon after the appearance of the first edition of the *History*, Pollock said:¹ 'I want to tell you how little of the *History*

¹ *Pollock-Holmes Letters* (1942), i. 60.

of *English Law* is my writing: viz. the Introduction (not quite all), the chapter on Anglo-Saxon law, and the bulk, not the whole, of the chapter on Early History of Contract, which is expounded and re-arranged from an article in *Harvard Law Review*.¹ In the second and last edition of the *History* (1898) there is no hint that Pollock had made any contributions to the text in addition to those indicated in his letter to Holmes.

Some of Pollock's most important contributions to learning are devoted to special aspects of the history of our dual system of Common Law and Equity. Prominent in this category of writings is his essay entitled 'Has the Common Law received the Fiction Theory of the Corporation?'² As historical proof that the English Common Law had never adopted the fiction theory of the corporation Pollock's essay has had much influence in converting English lawyers from the fictional to the realist doctrine. Pollock's brilliant essay on 'The Transformation of Equity'³ also deserves special mention; for, although the significance of the change from an archaic dispensing power to an equitable jurisdiction based on precedent and reason was already well known to the most learned students of English law, it was Pollock who first illumined this transformation of Equity as one of the most important aspects of English legal history. Pollock's essay on 'The History of English Law as a Branch of Politics'⁴ illustrates his thought that law and politics are intimately related to each other both in history and in theory. In this essay he explained the way in which English legal institutions and ideas have been a great and effectual power in politics, so that our political institutions and ideas are not only distinctively English, but have a definite and marked colouring of English law.

Pollock's article on 'The Continuity of the Common Law'⁵ may rightly be regarded as a preliminary sketch of the theme which he elaborated in *The Expansion of the Common Law* (1904) and *The Genius of the Common Law* (1912), two of his most important works on the main aspects of English legal development. In the first of these works he lays stress on the remarkable power of the Common Law, throughout both medieval and modern times, to assimilate foreign and cosmopolitan elements. In the

¹ For Pollock's article on 'Contracts in Early English Law', see 6 *Harv. L. Rev.* 389-404 (1893).

² *Essays in the Law* (1922), 151-79.

³ *Op. cit.*, 189-98.

⁴ *Essays in Jurisprudence and Ethics* (1882), 198-236.

⁵ 11 *Harv. L. Rev.* 423-33 (1898).

second work, which is in general complementary to the first, one of the main ideas developed by Pollock is the continuity of the Common Law from the early days of its Germanic origins, through the periods of its struggle against inner and external enemies, down to the twentieth century.

Although both these books deal chiefly with the Common Law in its island home, they embody also glimpses of the spread of English law to North America, India, and other parts of the world. In many of his other writings Pollock also studied the fortunes of English law in its oversea environments. Although he was always greatly interested in the spread of English law to the American colonies, an historical factor which resulted in the Anglo-American law of the States of the American Union, in his writings he devoted special attention to the adoption of English law in British India.

If we survey the whole of Pollock's contribution to our knowledge of English legal and institutional history, perhaps we are entitled to conclude that the closest parallel is the similar work of John Selden (1584-1654). Pollock may justly be regarded not only as the legitimate and worthy successor of Selden, but as one of the three most eminent English legal historians of our time. Although he never wrote a systematic treatise on the history of our law, he made nevertheless many contributions to our knowledge of English legal and institutional development from early medieval times down to our own day. These writings, the result of his own original research among the sources, are all marked by the profound learning, the breadth of view, and the literary brilliance which are characteristic of everything that he wrote. Pollock's title to fame as an English legal historian rests not so much upon his few contributions to Maitland's *History of English Law before the Time of Edward I*, important though they are, as upon the many books, essays, and articles wherein he has left us a priceless treasury of learning in regard to the history of our dual system of Common Law and Equity.

To our knowledge of the history and principles of the Law of Nations, in which he always took a deep interest, Pollock made important contributions, one of which is contained in his essay on 'The History of the Law of Nature':¹ here he treated the Law of Nations as a body of doctrine derived from and justified by the Law of Nature. In both his article on 'The Sources of International Law'² and his chapter on 'The Modern Law of Nations

¹ *Essays in the Law* (1922), 31-79.

² 18 *L.Q.Rev.* 418-29 (1902).

and the Prevention of War' in the *Cambridge Modern History*¹ he traced the history and sketched the structure of the law. To the study of International Law as a branch of legal science he devoted attention in his essays on 'The Nature of Jurisprudence'² and 'The Methods of Jurisprudence'.³

In the province of international relations Pollock became an authority on the history and meaning of the famous Monroe Doctrine. His discourse on 'The Monroe Doctrine', first published in the *Nineteenth Century* (October 1902), was ordered by the Senate of the United States of America to be printed as an official paper.⁴ In his article on 'Cosmopolitan Custom and International Law',⁵ published in the midst of the First World War, he dealt with the fundamental problem of securing perpetual peace under the rule of law. It is noteworthy that the movement in favour of a League of Nations, which began in the closing period of the war, won Pollock's hearty support; indeed, he was one of the originators of the idea of it. In 1918, before the close of the war, he published at Oxford a pamphlet on *The League of Nations and the Coming Rule of Law*. Then early in 1920 his *League of Nations* made its appearance: the second edition was published in 1922. When the Protocol of Geneva was rejected in 1924, he considered that the usefulness of the League in major matters was ended.

In all his writings on the history and principles of the Law of Nations Pollock gave clear proof of the fact that in addition to his remarkable gifts as an historian and jurisconsult he possessed also the broad outlook and sagacity of a statesman. While not ranking with the foremost of our authorities on International Law, his writings on the development and doctrines of this branch of Public Law have always been treated with great respect by the specialists.

V

Pollock based his study of jurisprudential thought on law and not on either ethics, or morality, or metaphysics, or logic. His writings are proof of his profound knowledge of the juridical ideas to be found not only in the Common Law of England and America and in the Civil Law of Rome and modern Europe,

¹ Vol. xii (1910), 703-29.

² *Essays in Jurisprudence and Ethics* (1882), 1-41.

³ *Oxford Lectures and Other Discourses* (1890), 1-36.

⁴ See 53 *L.Q. Rev.* 196 (1937).

⁵ 29 *Harv. L. Rev.* 565-81 (1916).

but also in the laws of Asia and of many communities in other parts of the world, such as Quebec and South Africa. His studies embraced, moreover, the jurisprudential ideas embodied in several cosmopolitan systems of law and justice, notably the Canon Law, the Law of Nature, the Law Merchant, and the Law of Nations.

In basing his jurisprudence on law Pollock stressed the importance of English law. Before his time the English jurisprudential studies had been influenced to an overwhelming degree by Romanist conceptions. It is not surprising, therefore, as Professor Goodhart has rightly observed, that 'it was difficult to reconcile the theories carefully worked out in the books with the practice of the Courts, for the theories came from Roman Law while the practice was English'.¹ It was Pollock who turned the current of thought towards the laws and institutions of England as a profitable and inspiring subject for study by jurists: he gave practical expression to this idea in many of his own writings, notably in his principal works on the Common Law and in his *First Book of Jurisprudence for Students of the Common Law* (1896). He never advocated, however, an abandonment of studies in the Civil Law of Rome and the continent of Europe. Quite on the contrary, he steadfastly maintained that a comparative study of the Civil Law and the Common Law should be one of the main aims of the jurist; and in his own writings he illustrated the jurisprudential value attaching to a comparison of these two great systems of law.

In analytical jurisprudence Pollock may rightly be regarded as a disciple of Hobbes, one of the forerunners of the English school of analytical jurists. He was, however, far more than a mere disciple of Hobbes; and indeed it is unquestionably true to say that he was himself the principal founder of a new school of analytical jurisprudence, the purpose of which was far removed from the abstract dogmatism of the Austinian school. In the province of analytical jurisprudence Pollock rose to his commanding position by basing his analysis of English legal ideas upon the history of those ideas as revealed by the sources of the law, notably the cases decided by the Courts in medieval and modern times. And, moreover, he still further illumined English legal ideas by viewing them in the wider perspective provided by a comparison with the ideas to be found in foreign legal systems, notably the Civil Law.

Striking examples of Pollock's analysis of legal ideas are to be

¹ 53 *L.Q.Rev.* 205 (1937).

found in his works on the English law of contract and tort and in that part of his *Jurisprudence* devoted to general legal notions. Still another of his main contributions to analytical jurisprudence is his *Possession in the Common Law* (1888). Here Pollock sought to do for English law what Savigny and Ihering and others had attempted to do for Roman law. As Holdsworth has observed, Pollock's book 'set forth clearly for the first time what the English theory of ownership and possession was, and showed that that theory was as logical and consistent as the different theory of Roman law'.¹

In addition to his own constructive work in analytical jurisprudence, Pollock as a jurist will be known to posterity chiefly by his contributions to the literature of jurisprudence as viewed from the standpoints of history and comparison. He used the historical and comparative methods not only in his studies of English analytical jurisprudence, but in a still wider field of research embracing many systems of law throughout the world in ancient, medieval, and modern times. Pollock may justly be regarded as the most eminent representative of the English school of historical and comparative jurists since Maine's time.

Pollock's most enlightening contribution to the history of jurisprudential thought from antiquity to modern times is his now famous essay on 'The History of the Law of Nature'. Equally illuminating are the Notes which he contributed to his editions of Maine's *Ancient Law* (1906; 1930), which form a most valuable study in historical and comparative jurisprudence. Indeed, in many of his writings on the history of English law and of its spread throughout the world he compared English legal ideas with the juridical concepts to be found in other systems of law. In short it may truly be said that the balanced combination of the analytical, historical, and comparative methods of research and exposition was one of Pollock's principal characteristics as a jurist.

Pollock perceived clearly that in their historical development political ideas are closely related to juridical ideas: he held in fact that much political theory is based on law, and has, therefore, a legal character. To the history of political theory, as thus conceived, he devoted some of his most valuable writings.

Pollock's *History of the Science of Politics* (1890), a small book now out of print, has long been recognized by competent critics as the most brilliant essay in English on the history of political theory from ancient to modern times. It should be noticed,

¹ 53 *L.Q. Rev.* 179 (1937).

again, that his essay on 'The History of the Law of Nature' is a notable contribution to the literature alike of historical jurisprudence and of the history of political theory.

One of Pollock's most original and illuminating writings on the history of political thought is the chapter on 'The Citizen and the State' in his *Spinoza: His Life and Philosophy*.¹ In this chapter, where he is concerned, not with the metaphysical parts of Spinoza's philosophy, but with his theory of politics, Pollock elaborates the point that though he was not actually a disciple of Hobbes, Spinoza so closely follows him that the philosophy of law and government worked out in the *Tractatus Politicus* distinctly belongs to the general doctrine characteristic of the English school of jurisprudence first clearly developed by Hobbes. Pollock's comparison of the political ideas of Spinoza with those of Hobbes lends special interest to a chapter brilliant both in design and in execution.

Among Pollock's many other contributions to the history of political theory particular attention may be drawn to the memorable address which he delivered before the British Academy in 1904 on 'Locke's Theory of the State', to mark the bicentenary of the philosopher's death.² There he presented to scholars what appears to have been the first analysis of Locke's *Essay on Civil Government* ever attempted by an English lawyer. In his edition of the *Table Talk* (1927) he took pains to draw attention to those passages where Selden appears to point the way to Locke. Without entering into detail it may be observed, again, that in his writings on the history of international relations and of the Law of Nations Pollock dealt with many aspects of the history of political doctrine in the West.

From his Cambridge days to the very end of his life Pollock was ever an enthusiastic student of the career and writings of Spinoza, the Dutch philosopher. In 1880 he published the work upon which he had been engaged for several years—*Spinoza: His Life and Philosophy*. The second edition made its appearance in 1899: it was reissued with revisions and additions in 1912.

Of the merits of Pollock's work on Spinoza there could be no better judge than the late Professor Harold H. Joachim, of

¹ Second ed. (1899), 289–316.

² *Proceedings of the British Academy*, vol. i, 1904. As reprinted in *Essays in the Law* (1922), 80–109, there is an Appendix on 'The Social Contract in Hobbes and Locke', the summary of a lecture delivered by Pollock at Oxford in 1907.

Oxford, who was good enough to write for my use in the present memoir the two following paragraphs:

Interest in Spinoza—in his life and personality, in some of his famous utterances, and in certain aspects of his teaching—has never been confined [Joachim observed] to the narrow circle of students of philosophy. None of the other great philosophers, with the possible exception of Socrates, has tended to excite the attention and curiosity of so large a body of non-philosophical (and even unphilosophical) followers and would-be disciples. And perhaps the greatest merit of Sir F. Pollock's book on Spinoza is that it succeeds, to an astonishing degree, in satisfying the demands of this larger public as well as those of the specialist and expert. Written in a very lucid and attractive style, with an easy mastery of all the most important literature bearing on the subject; incorporating an immense amount of learning and research in regard to the relevant historical data, and based throughout upon a careful study of Spinoza's own works;—Pollock's book has been for more than half a century, and still remains, the most readable and, on the whole, the most reliable survey of the life and teaching of the Philosopher.

It is true, no doubt, that, in his account of Spinoza's philosophy, Pollock passes too lightly over some of the technical difficulties, or is too easily content to offer criticisms and solutions, which would hardly be endorsed or accepted by those who have made the study of philosophy and its history their main concern. His whole treatment, e.g., of Spinoza's conception of the Attribute of thought is obviously unsatisfactory. But Pollock himself would never have claimed completeness or finality for his interpretation of Spinoza's philosophy. And, considered broadly and as a whole, his book undoubtedly deserves the high reputation it has won abroad as well as in this country. It is, beyond all question, the best general introduction to the study not only of Spinoza's life but of his philosophy as well.

Owing to his great interest in Spinoza, Pollock took an active part in the work of the *Societas Spinozana*, founded in 1920 with its headquarters at The Hague. He was one of five 'Curators' appointed by the Governing Body of the Society to supervise the contents and publication of its annual journal, the *Chronicon Spinozanum*.

In 1932 the Spinoza Society commemorated the tercentenary of the philosopher's birth by holding an international conference at The Hague. On this occasion Pollock, who was present as official representative of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, delivered an address which adds much to our knowledge of Spinoza's character and influence.

Then in 1935 Pollock published still another work on the philosopher entitled simply *Spinoza*. This small book is con-

cerned not with the exposition of Spinoza's doctrine, but with the exhibition of the philosopher's life and character in relation to the world of his time. At the end of his book Pollock published the address which he had delivered in 1932 at The Hague.

Without entering into detail, it may be remarked merely that Spinoza's ideas exercised a marked influence on Pollock's own thought, as many passages in his writings bear witness. It may also be noted that, in addition to his books on Spinoza, Pollock made other notable contributions to our knowledge of philosophical speculation. Of these writings special attention should be drawn to his essay on 'Marcus Aurelius and the Stoic Philosophy'¹ and the paper which he read before the Oxford Philosophical Society on 'The Relation of Mystic Experience to Philosophy'.²

Although Pollock regarded himself as an amateur in philosophy, his writings have been recognized by professional philosophers as worthy of their close attention; and he used the knowledge which he gained from his study of the history of philosophical speculation to enrich his writings on law and jurisprudence.

VI

Pollock's interests extended far beyond the range of his memorable attainments in legal scholarship. He was a man of wide and deep culture, intimately acquainted with the world's history, literature, and philosophy. Fascinated by the liberal arts, he was thoroughly familiar with and much enjoyed listening to the music of the great composers, and he took delight in viewing the paintings of renowned artists. He made a close and appreciative study of the drama as presented in books and on the stage, and he knew personally some of the leading actors and actresses of his day. He was an enlightened and competent critic of the literary masterpieces of ancient, medieval, and modern times, and he was himself a literary artist of high distinction. He not only clothed his contributions to learning in a supremely literary form, but he wrote many delightful pieces, both prose and verse, in several ancient and modern languages.

Some of Pollock's many literary pieces, such as 'Die Symphonien Beethovens', 'Les Funérailles de Démos', and 'Sir Michael: A Phantasy on an Altar-Piece of Perugino', are to be

¹ *Essays in Jurisprudence and Ethics* (1882), 314-51.

² *Outside the Law* (1927), 9-25.

found in his *Leading Cases done into English and Other Diversions* (1892) and *Outside the Law: Diversions Partly Serious* (1927). *The Etchingham Letters* (1899), a work of fiction written by Pollock and Mrs. Fuller Maitland in collaboration, is a delightful family correspondence, humorous as well as serious.

Fond of travel from his youth Pollock visited many parts of Europe, North America, and India, and also cruised to some of the islands of the sea. His long and intimate friendship with Holmes led him to take a special interest in the American scene: one of his marked personal characteristics was his fondness for the United States. When travelling on the continent of Europe, his command of spoken French, German, and Italian enabled him to converse freely with the legal scholars and other persons of note whom he met.

Pollock was a student of the art of conversation, especially as that art was practised in antiquity and in the England and France of his own time. Moreover, when one or more of those in his company took the lead by expressing some idea or train of thought that awakened his interest, Pollock never failed to come out of his habitual reserve, revealing himself as a conversationalist of rare gifts.

Pollock was brilliant not only as an after-dinner speaker and a conversationalist, but also as a letter-writer. In the letters which he wrote to Holmes and other friends he gave the proof both of his wide range of knowledge and of his own personality, so rich in matters of the heart as well as of the mind. His correspondents have always taken delight in the admirable pen-and-ink sketches which he sometimes drew in the margin or at the foot of his letters.¹ In his letters and sketches, as in his conversation, humour was not lacking.

Although by nature shy and reserved, Pollock was yet endowed with personal traits which enabled him to form close and lasting friendships. There can be no doubt that among his true friends, the men who had counted most in his life, were William Kingdon Clifford, Leslie Stephen, Frederic William Maitland, George Meredith, A. W. Verrall, and Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr. Pollock formed, however, many other enduring friendships, some of which were among his fellows of the Cambridge Conversazione Society ('The Apostles') and of 'The Sunday Tramps', the famous walking club which he and Leslie Stephen had founded. Sir Frederick saw much of his brother Walter Herries Pollock (1850-1926), for many years the accom-

¹ Two have been reproduced in the *Pollock-Holmes Letters* (1942).

plished editor of the *Saturday Review*; and he was also on terms of close friendship with his cousins, Dighton Nicolas Pollock (1864-1927), a leading member of the Chancery Bar, Sir Ernest Murray Pollock (1861-1936), the first Lord Hanworth, who was Master of the Rolls, and Bertram Pollock (the brother of Sir Ernest), who was headmaster of Wellington and became Bishop of Norwich.

In his teaching Pollock held before the student the ideal of the true and accomplished lawyer as a man who is not only familiar with the law in respect of its history, principles, theory, and practice, but also trained by physical and intellectual exercises outside the law. This lofty ideal, as expressed by Pollock in some of his most eloquent passages,¹ was the very one which he himself made a reality in his own person. Pollock not only possessed the genius of a great scholar, but he was a man of character in the deepest and truest sense. These are two of the main reasons why he has won the admiration and regard of all those familiar with his life and career.

H. D. HAZELTINE

¹ See, for example, *Oxford Lectures and Other Discourses* (1890), 91-111.

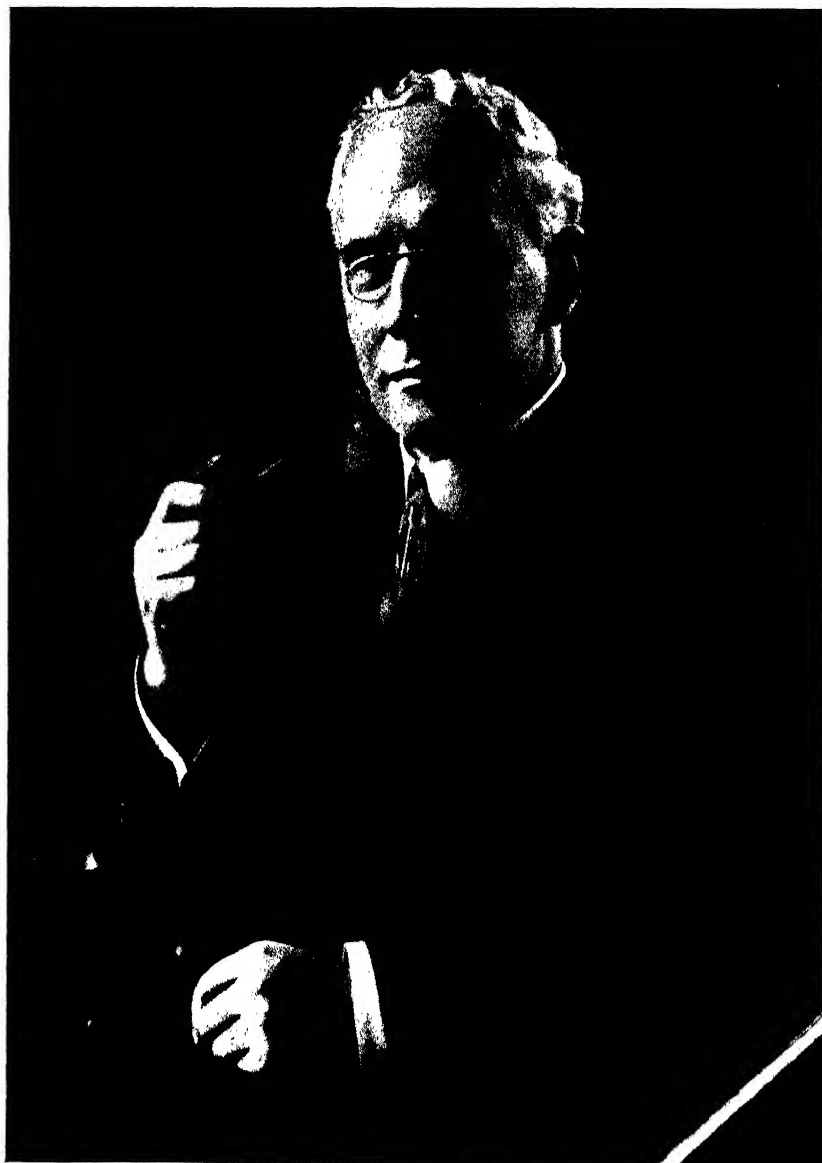


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ALBERT FREDERICK POLLARD

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1869-1948

ALBERT FREDERICK POLLARD, the Tudor historian, was born on 16 December 1869, and died on 3 August 1948, aged seventy-eight. In scholarship he is essentially the historian of the English Reformation, which he covered in two fine biographies of Henry VIII (1902) and Wolsey (1929). In university politics he was one of the 'big men' of London University for more than thirty years; and more especially as Chairman of the History Board (1910-23) he dominated the development of historical studies in the University. A flourishing history school was quickly developed in London, the significance of which was enhanced by the founding of the Institute of Historical Research in 1921. Though technically the outcome of the collective wisdom of the University, Pollard may safely be called its founder. He was its Director for eighteen years (1921-39) and with it his name will always be associated. A man of somewhat autocratic temper and tireless energy, he did a very great deal for the promotion of historical study in England. Equally brilliant as a teacher, a lecturer, and a writer he combined to a degree unsurpassed by any of his contemporaries a fine sense of proportion, with meticulous accuracy and lucidity in exposition. He was a typical Victorian in his distrust of philosophy or mysticism, and it is entirely characteristic of his clear-cut positive outlook that his achievement both in scholarship and in university politics can be so succinctly summarized. The time has hardly yet come for telling in detail the story of a life so full of academic clashes and antagonisms, though the material for doing it survives in a remarkable weekly correspondence with his father from 1884-1924. Professor Neale has told us that Pollard used often to say, 'What a man does, depends on what he does without', and if this is true a bare factual record should speak for itself. In any case, the saying takes us back to Pollard's non-conformist, Wesleyan background, which may help to explain his rather enigmatic personality.

His father, Henry Hindes Pollard, was the son of a Wesleyan minister, and we hear of a grandfather, a great-grandfather, and at least one uncle who had been Wesleyan preachers. After a normal education at Kingswood School, Bristol, Henry—since the universities were closed to nonconformists—elected to become

a chemist; and after many wanderings as an assistant, he set up on his own (1867) in Ryde, Isle of Wight. Of his seven children Albert was the second and the second boy. All were exceptionally gifted. The eldest, Harry, was an outstanding biologist who went to Christ Church, but was drowned while bathing in 1896, a tragedy which left its mark upon the younger brother. The youngest child, E. W. Pollard, earmarked in youth to assist his father, sacrificed thereby the prospect of a career as a pure scientist, to emerge none the less as an authority on seismology. Two of the daughters, like the brothers, acquired degrees, but here as elsewhere in the social life of the period, the girls took only a secondary place in the household, and the sons monopolized the family limelight. The father of this remarkable family was himself a remarkable man—a great radical, a keen Wesleyan, and a good chemist. He became a J.P. and Vice-Chairman of the Isle of Wight County Council, and on his death in 1924 was described with reason as ‘the grand old man’ of the Island. The minute and sympathetic interest of such a father in his son’s career—to which the letters bear witness—must have meant a great deal to ‘Bertie’; though with true Victorian reticence he seems only to have expressed his affection by the unflinching regularity and fullness of his letters ‘home’. Undoubtedly it was great good fortune to the young man to be blessed, as we say, with such a happy home. In Victorian England, however, a certain social stigma attached both to Nonconformity and to shopkeeping—we cannot blink the fact—and this, too, perhaps left its mark upon the young man in London. However that may be, the Wesleyanism was shed at adolescence for a sort of ‘occasional conformity’ to the Church of England, at least after his marriage. There is, however, no record of any reaction against it, and the young Pollard, the best of sons, retained a lifelong respect for the creed of his ancestors.

His school record, as we should expect, was uniformly successful. He began at Portsmouth Grammar School, and at fourteen was offered scholarships both at Clifton and Felsted on the results of the Oxford Senior Locals. He chose Felsted (whither G. G. Coulton had preceded him), and though he did not enjoy it much, got good teaching from John Sargeant, afterwards at Westminster. His first letter home is preserved, dated 23 September 1884, and is a singularly full and objective description of the school for a boy of his age.

The first thing we do in the morning is to go to Morning Service; then there is a short school and then breakfast. After breakfast there is

more school until 12.30. Then we do what we like, walk about the village or anything until 1 o'clock which is dinner time. At dinner they let us have as much bread and meat as we like and afterwards pudding which very few boys took. There is water to drink on the table but everybody's glass in the VIth is filled with ale if he does not object.

The letter continues with a full account of the classical curriculum, the arrangement of forms, the prospect of becoming a prefect, and so on. He notes that the average size of the boys is larger than that of Portsmouth G.S., but that 'on the whole the school is not much superior to the Portsmouth G.S. in the scholastic line'. 'I remain', he concludes, 'your very affectionate son, Bertie Pollard': and then—the only exhibition of feeling in the whole letter—he adds a 'P.S. I feel as though I would a great deal sooner be going to the P.G.S. than staying here.'

From Felsted he got a scholarship, as well as an exhibition at Jesus College, Oxford, producing £110 between them, and on this he managed to live at Oxford. He stroked his college eight, and enjoyed it, but did not play games. He also regularly attended the Union. At Oxford, finally, he became engaged to be married to Catherine Susanna the daughter of William Lucy, the Oxford ironworker, and under his fiancée's influence attended, somewhat half-heartedly, dances and theatres. They were engaged from 1891, the year in which he got his First in History, and married in 1894, in his twenty-fifth year. His wife had, fortunately, a small private income of her own, and her family helped by buying a house in Putney for the young couple. They also passed on a cook who had once been with Bishop Stubbs, and who remained with the family for thirty years, till ill health caused her to be retired on a pension. The long engagement was due to the extreme difficulty, in those days, of making a living in academic life; and he counted himself fortunate when in 1893 he obtained the assistant editorship of the *D.N.B.*, under Sidney Lee. This strenuous post besides producing a steady income (£200 a year) was a source of instruction and historical discipline to which Pollard himself always attached the greatest importance. The biographer may none the less pause to contrast the hard lot of the would-be professional historian in the nineties with the primrose path of a Lothian (1892) and Arnold (1898) prize winner at Oxford today. Pollard spent nine years with the *D.N.B.*; until, in fact, he fell out towards the end with the editor. There followed a very uncomfortable time of partial employment—examining, journalism, coaching at Wren's—until 1907 when University

College, London, began to pay him a satisfactory salary. Since 1903 he had been Professor of Constitutional History but without any other stipend than a part of the students' fees, which in the first year amounted to £25. 14s. 6d. From these facts we can make a reliable inference regarding the status of historical studies at University College, at a time when T. F. Tout had already presided for nearly fifteen years over the history school at Manchester. London needed shaking up, and it had certainly got the right man to do it. The year 1903 was none the less the turning-point in Pollard's life. He had at last, at the age of thirty-four, got his chance, and he took it with both hands. The rest of his life is the record of his long association with University College and the University of London, culminating with the foundation of the Institute of Historical Research. Already he had made his mark as a writer with *England under Protector Somerset* (1900) and *Henry VIII*, still the standard book on its subject. He was in fact a made man, and the fact was brought home to him by his election to a research fellowship at All Souls (1908). It was a splendid surprise, and for many years he used to visit All Souls at week-ends while his wife stayed with her mother in Oxford. For the research prescribed by his Fellowship Pollard's first idea was a volume, or two, on Parliament in the sixteenth century; but he later changed his mind, and wrote instead his *Evolution of Parliament* (1920), dealing with its medieval origins. For this task neither his earlier interests nor his scholarship were fully adequate. It was none the less a brilliant book and a useful introduction to its subject.

From 1903 until his retirement in 1931 Pollard worked untiringly for University College and for London University. The width of his interests and the force he exerted are reflected in his weekly letters, which by their fullness and clarity are historical documents of some importance. In his own province, the organization of historical teaching, Pollard's influence was decisive: the undergraduate syllabus was entirely remodelled and closely linked to postgraduate research by the development of seminar teaching. From 1910-23 he was continuously Chairman of the History Board and (in Professor Neale's phrase) the 'architect' of the London School of history. His term of office coincided with an astonishing development of the new universities and colleges throughout the country, and especially with a great revival of their Arts Faculties, which until the turn of the century had, in general, failed to compete with those of Oxford and Cambridge. In this movement historical study took pride of

place, and two men, Tout at Manchester and Pollard in London, stood out as its most commanding personalities. The ends they had in view were common to all the new universities, in each of which they found allies. They had help, too, from Richard Lodge at Edinburgh, whose wisdom was of great service when the Institute of Historical Research was set up. Nearly all these men came from Oxford and strove to extend its benefits, suitably modified and improved, to their new charges. In the face of the persistent preference for the older universities, the chief difficulty before the First World War was to attract students, though this was overcome as the Education Act of 1902 slowly but surely increased the demand for an Arts education. In the interval the new builders were led to take a live interest in the teaching of history in the schools and the general diffusion of the subject among a wider public. The Historical Association, of which Pollard himself was virtually the founder, was formed in 1906. He was an early president (1912-15) and for six years edited *History*, the journal of the Association. To these newcomers in the academic field no very warm welcome was extended by Oxford and Cambridge, and it is likely that not so much would have been achieved but for the outbreak, purely fortuitous, of a fierce dispute on the whole value of historical study. The trouble began almost simultaneously in Oxford and Cambridge where C. H. Firth (1904) and J. B. Bury (1903) in famous inaugural lectures pleaded for a 'more historical study of history' in the universities, much as Stubbs had done thirty years before. An immediate and sharp reaction occurred in both these ancient seats, and a confused battle ensued in which each party hopelessly misunderstood the other. It was summarily ended by the outbreak of the First World War, both sides claiming the victory; but the interest aroused was a godsend to the newer universities, which, generally speaking, were the champions of a more 'scientific' history—more 'Original Documents' and more postgraduate 'Research'. At Manchester, for example, the undergraduate wrote a 'thesis' and everywhere new degrees sprang up—the M.A. by 'thesis', the B.Litt. and the Ph.D.—which required special teachers. These new developments brought with them many more students, larger teaching staffs, and a considerable machinery of organized postgraduate research.

Pollard's attitude to all these problems is preserved in his lecture on 'The University of London and the Study of History', delivered at University College in 1904. History, he said, was neither an easy nor a pleasant way of making a living, but was

full of possibilities as a 'liberal education'. In Germany there was scarcely a university which did not possess two or three professors of modern history, while Berlin had six. America (with its seven professors of history at Chicago) was not 'far behind'; and he suggested that the business success of Germany was 'not due to their preference of technical instruction to a liberal education', but to the 'intellectual keenness which enables them to pursue both with success'. As for London, no history school (he said) existed, and he called for more teachers, more scholarships, and above all for the creation of a postgraduate School of Historical Research in London, which had such unique advantages in regard to the original sources. He pointed out that of the extant materials for English history, which was to be the main preoccupation of the London school, not one-tenth had yet been calendared or printed. Besides the national history, special emphasis should be laid on naval history and still more upon the history of London itself. Lastly, the teaching of history should be brought up to date, closing the notorious nineteenth-century gap which still obtained in Oxford. With such a programme and adequate resources the London School of History would find its real business 'not in making historians, but in the discovery and spread of historical truth'. So in conclusion he pleaded for the creation of a London University Press.

Such was the schedule proposed, based partly on the system of the old universities, partly on that of Manchester (the only real precedent he had to follow outside Oxford), but with shrewd criticisms of both. In the London of 1904 it needed both faith and vision to preach such a doctrine; yet before Pollard resigned most of his 'dream' was an actuality, and the rest was soon to follow. It was a great achievement, only done, as Professor Neale remarks, by forcing the pace.

Of this capacity to make things happen the foundation of the Institute of Historical Research is the supreme example. With the outbreak of war in 1914, the postgraduate seminar at University College, as also the number of undergraduates, 'inevitably dwindled', and in its place Pollard began the Thursday evening conferences for historians drawn from all over London. It was a great innovation which paved the way for the future Institute, and was widely copied in other universities. The conferences were often quite large gatherings, which did a great deal to overcome the isolation in which historians then worked. Young men and women, to their great profit, met their seniors there; and for the first time perhaps American scholars in England began to

mix more freely with our own. I recollect especially C. G. Crump, A. E. Stamp, and Charles Johnson, all of the Public Record Office, Sir George Aston, Claude Jenkins, Hilda Johnstone, and Eliza Jeffries Davis. Mrs. Pollard, too, was there, a gracious influence none the less felt though she seldom spoke. There was no agenda, still less any prepared paper or oration. All was impromptu, with Pollard as its centre, airing the problems of others, and when these, as often, failed (with infinite resource) propounding his own. The conferences had many critics, and I recall Tout complaining that before he had properly collected his wits on one matter, too often Pollard's razor-mind had passed to another. Others objected that almost any question raised led inevitably to the Tudor period. Nor was Pollard the man to catch fire at the interesting suggestions of others. For myself, I was fascinated by the brilliant, if not always sympathetic, personality of the central figure, who had such an enormous body of exact information in his head and who could use it so effectively. The years spent on the *D.N.B.* paid their best dividend in these meetings; while behind all the learning was an infinite curiosity and a mind of extraordinary speed and ingenuity.

The war had scarcely ended when Pollard determined to drive his project for a permanent research centre in London. By 1920 the senate had agreed in principle and an appeal committee was set up to raise £20,000. The first idea was to convert two or three houses in Bloomsbury, but a sudden twist was given to the negotiations by the government offer of the Bloomsbury site to the University, and the appearance of a generous benefactor in John Cecil Power. The appeal had not gone well: only £4,000 had come in and Pollard—a strong champion of the Bloomsbury offer—now worked for a special building for research in Malet Street on the offered site. The University was still inclined to haver, and the situation was saved by Power who increased his first offer of £5,000 to £20,000 on condition that a temporary building was erected *forthwith* in Malet Street. The senate quickly came to heel and the Institute of Historical Research was formally opened by H. A. L. Fisher (President of the Board of Education) on 8 July 1921. Pollard had 'forced the pace' indeed, and to how good purpose was only shown five years later, when the offer of the Bloomsbury site was withdrawn by the Government and the Institute found itself under notice to quit. But by 1926, when this crisis befell, there had been just enough time for the new Institute to prove its worth, to gain the goodwill of scholars at home and abroad, and to acquire something of what Maitland might have

called 'a beatitude of seisin'. For in the unusual flood of correspondence and newspaper comment that followed upon the Government's withdrawal of the Bloomsbury site, what stood out most steadily was the complete unanimity on one point—that the Institute of Historical Research had justified its creation and must not be allowed to disappear.¹

It did not disappear. The crisis passed and the Institute remained at Malet Street until 1938 when it moved into temporary quarters in the new Senate House; thence in 1943 to Tavistock Square, where its fine library survived both the V.1's and the V.2's; and finally in 1947 to its long-planned present home.

By the foundation of the Institute Pollard earned the gratitude of all those—not perhaps a very large number—who are seriously concerned for the future of historical research in England. But for him, there is no reason to think it would ever have taken shape: but once established, the proximity of the Public Record Office and the British Museum opened up exciting possibilities of attack upon those nine-tenths of the materials for our history still unprinted and uncalendared to which he himself had called attention in 1904. Yet Pollard, paradoxically enough, was not much taken up with 'originals', preferring to work in his study from the printed calendars. In consequence his own work, though broad-based and exact, was not altogether thorough and rarely beckons us on towards the unknown. Nor was he, for the same reason, in close touch or sympathy with the new trends towards a more exact scholarship. Thus in 1936 he writes of one of the finest publications of new seventeenth-century manuscripts for many years:

I can read Calendars of State Papers with comparative ease and pleasure; but this is the most indigestible mass of historical materials I've seen. These coal-miners of history treat their raw materials as sacrosanct lest they should be converted into gas for the cookers of history! And Clio becomes a mummy in a museum.

The not-uncommon view here expressed—despite the mixture of metaphors—is arguable, though the 'miner' might reasonably reply that he is only anxious that none of his coal should be lost *before* it is turned into 'gas'! Nevertheless it comes oddly from the founder of the Institute of Historical Research. Clearly the heavy problems raised by the sheer bulk of our records, both public and private, which can hardly be a matter of indifference to the Institute, did not interest him personally, and perhaps he had built better than he knew.

¹ J. G. Edwards, *Sir John Cecil Power, Bart., 1870-1950* (Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, vol. xxiii, no. 68 (November 1950)).

Pollard was essentially a builder, and after thirty years one may pay a confident tribute to the soundness of the general conception of the Institute, and to the wisdom with which it was organized. Pollard himself was its Director, and largely responsible for every detail in its constitution. To him we may attribute its most salient features—the ordinary and the Anglo-American conferences; the ingenious system by which its unpaid teaching staff is drawn from the university, and the widely representative committee of management. So, too, in respect of its activities: the collection of *corrigenda* for some new edition of the *D.N.B.* and the absorption of the *Victoria County History* were Pollard's work, together with the *Bulletin*, a most welcome addition to the exiguous number of English historical periodicals. Great card indexes, too, were begun under his inspiration, and he himself made large collections for a future history of Tudor parliaments. If Pollard ruled the Institute, he did so only by his dominating personality: the forms at least of committee management were preserved, a point of some importance in the Institute's later history. In 1931 when he retired from his professorship and settled on the south coast, he remained honorary Director until 1939. The arrangement was not altogether satisfactory, and threw too heavy a burden upon the Institute's able secretary, Mr. Parsloe, to whom indeed, as to his predecessor Dr. Meikle, was due much of the credit for its early success. Growing misunderstanding between the Committee and its absentee Director ended in an unfortunate quarrel and Pollard resigned. It was a lamentable ending.

There was, however, another side to the wise senator and pioneer of historical research. Pollard's interest in contemporary politics was just as intense and continuous as his devotion to the past, and it was probably period and circumstance as much as attraction that made him the historian of the sixteenth instead of the nineteenth century. Re-reading his 1904 lecture it is plain that his conception of history as a liberal education for all sprang from his 'modernism', and it is the same healthy bias which makes the *Evolution of Parliament*, written at the zenith of his powers, either the best or the worst of his serious books. To him the *Fiction of the Peerage* and the *Myth of the Three Estates* were, so to speak, irresistible, though to many such an approach seemed only to muddy the stream of his narrative. This pro-occupation with politics is constantly reflected in his letters to his parents. On 26 July 1914, for example, he closes a letter describing Pember's election as Warden of All Souls with a side glance at the European situation.

Other matters will fill the papers. The Conference and its failure are not serious. The King wanted to try his hand at a settlement, and the result leaves Asquith freer than if the experiment had not been made. He sees further than most of his critics or admirers. I take it that the Amending Bill will be passed as introduced except that the time limit will be dropped, and some arrangement may be made about Tyrone.

The Austro-Servian business is much more serious, and the crisis looks to me worse than any of recent years. Austria seems bent on challenging Russia as well as Servia; and yet I do not see how Austria can gain by war. It looks like a monstrous and wanton provocation; Simon said the ultimatum was the most extraordinary document he had read, and they had been considering it at the Cabinet. Some of the telegrams indicated that war would begin last night. It isn't a cheerful prospect; but if it comes to war, I hope that Austria will be beaten.

He was quite right: the war came (though hardly as he envisaged it) and Pollard was drawn still more into contemporary studies. He lectured a great deal and in 1917 published *The Commonwealth at War*. In 1938 he served on the Government Committee on the League of Nations, from which sprang *The League of Nations: an Historical Argument* (1918). In 1920 he published his *Short History of the Great War*. He was now a public figure—at the height of his powers—and the almost inevitable sequel is recorded in a touching letter from his father, dated 11 January 1922:

It would give us infinite pleasure to see you the representative of the University. It is not altogether a surprise that you are mentioned in that connexion. Old age is naturally anxious. It so often happens that aspirants to parliamentary honours are expected to make repeated efforts before they succeed. I should not like you to be a candidate merely to test the strength of the party in the University. I look in Whitaker and find little encouragement from the numbers there. You are in the centre of information and would be well advised. One thing is certain, it would not be vulgar ambition that would move you. You are daily in the centre of the constituency and can feel its pulse; you have genuine reputation and would not need a vast amount of humbug to support you. Unquestionably you are rising, and *omnes orientem solem* etc. Bribery and corruption would find no soil in the University in which it would grow. You are made of real stuff, and every voter knows it. It seems as if the only other qualification you need is enough arithmetic to count the votes.

'Bertie' was standing as a Liberal for London University against H. G. Wells (Labour) and a certain S. R. Wells who, in fact, got in. Next year he tried again against Graham Little and was again defeated. The second failure is described in a

letter to his father and mother (9 December 1923) which illustrates his absorption in politics as well as his social circumstances at this time.

The election is practically over with better results than one could have anticipated. . . . I imagine Baldwin resigns tomorrow or Tuesday, and does not advise the King to send for another Conservative. It would be too mean for the Party, having accepted Baldwin's policy and contemplated sharing the benefits of it (if successful), to turn round and disclaim responsibility in the hope of retaining office as Free-Traders. The King will, I think, send for Macdonald. [*He did.*] . . . I believe Macdonald will decline, on the ground that he has no majority to carry out the policy to which his party is pledged. I think the King will then send for Asquith who will succeed in forming an administration. If three parties are walking abreast along a road in the dark, the middle party is less likely to fall into the ditches on either side than the other two; and there is practically no question on which the Liberals, if attacked by Labour, would not be supported by the Conservatives, and *vice-versa*. Nor will any party push things to another dissolution in 1924, if it can possibly be avoided. I believe Asquith could get McKenna as Chancellor of the Exchequer, and form a far abler government than the last or any that Labour could form. . . .

My own little affair is among the less encouraging items, though it matters little enough compared with the general result. The order will be the same as last year, but the rest only amounts to this: (i) I am 1,140 ahead of H. G. Wells this year, and was only 753 ahead of him last year: and (ii) I have just saved the University from the reproach that the more insignificant its M.P. was, the larger was his majority. . . .

We had a small but select meeting of the Council of the Brit. Acad. on Wednesday: Balfour, Haldane, Sir F. Kenyon, Sir Arthur Evans, Hogarth and myself. I did not stay to Pringle Pattison's lecture. Haldane asked me (and Katie) to dinner on Friday to talk over the election results. It was an odd assortment of guests:—Bernard Shaw (and his wife), Sir James Barrie, Sir John and Lady Horner, Harold Baker (once a Portsmouth Grammar School boy, then M.P. and Asquith's secretary; also a colleague of Harold Butler at New College), Harold Laski and his wife. Mrs. Raymond Asquith was to have been present but could not come. It was worth going to, though out-of-doors the weather was abominable.

I went to Oxford [i.e. All Souls] by the 4.45 last evening, but the gathering there was rather small and disappointing. The more important people were probably colloquing in London. . . .

This characteristic letter—which incidentally illuminates the melancholy eclipse of Liberalism in these crucial years—shows the historian and the scholar moving at last on the fringe of a larger society. The way lay through politics, and Pollard, his

ambition fairly aroused, made a third attempt to enter Parliament (1924). It was not to be. There was no political future for Liberalism, as the career of Ramsey Muir was to prove. Pollard, like H. A. L. Fisher, cut his losses and relapsed into scholarship. Yet one cannot but wonder whether the air of disappointment, or rather disillusionment which marks the later years, was connected with his failure to emerge on this larger stage.

Pollard's failure as a politician was offset by his increasing eminence in the historical world. In 1924, accompanied by his wife, he made a second and highly successful journey to America as visiting professor at Columbia University. He was away four months, returning early in the new year, and his visit conformed to the familiar pattern of the English professor in America. In addition to a heavy assignment of teaching at Columbia, he had to cope with 'the inexhaustible thirst for lectures, talks, &c., which characterizes this country', and 'the epidemic of dinners' which attended his itinerary. He visited all kinds of universities and colleges from Canada to Virginia: there were long railway journeys and lavish hospitality. He met a number of important Americans, and thoroughly enjoyed the homage he received on every side. On 1 December he wrote to his daughter:

We had an excellent time at Montreal. The journeys were rather long, 12½ hours going, 11 hours coming back, though railway travelling in U.S.A. is infinitely more comfortable than in England. . . . Basil Williams met us at 9.10 and took us to our hotel—the Windsor—close by the station of that name. On Thursday I had to breakfast with Stephen Leacock: an old-fashioned Oxford breakfast, very solid. As soon as I got back to the hotel I fell into the hands of an interviewer. Then there was the lunch of the Canadian Women's Club which I had to address. About 400 were present, and as a result of some of my remarks a Government official wanted to take me on Thursday to discuss the point with his friend Mackenzie King, the Prime Minister! At 4 p.m. we were due at Victoria College (women's) for tea, and at 5 was my lecture to McGill University. At 7.30 we went out to Westmount to dine with the Williams; the other principal guests were Sir Arthur and Lady Currie. He succeeded Byng in command of the Canadians, and was full of interesting reminiscences of the War. Haig told him afterwards (in 1919) that there were 200,000 French troops in mutiny in May 1917 after the failure of Nivelle's offensive. . . .

I have a rather irate inquiry from Quebec why I did not go and lecture there. That is the general trouble.

There is no mention in his letters of strain or tiredness. He seems to have taken it all in his stride—the lectures, the dinners, the travelling—and enjoyed it to the full. Indeed, throughout his

tour his closest interest was English politics, for owing to the autumn dissolution of Parliament, he had to begin his third election struggle for London University *in absentia*. His letters in November are full of the general election, oddly interspersed with details of his 'talk' on historical research to the Columbia Graduate School ('200-250 strong'), lectures at Barnard College, Mount Holyoke, and so on. All this blunted the edge of the disappointment—at least for the moment—which was none the less very keen. In another way also the year 1924 marks an epoch in Pollard's life. While he was in America his father died at the age of eighty-seven, and on 13 October he wrote to his daughter:

It was, however, something that we were able to render his declining years somewhat less intolerable than some earlier periods in his life; but I wish he could have been spared the last eight months. The end, of course, was not unexpected though he might have gone on for some months. He was eleven days younger at the end than was your great-aunt Sarah when she died in 1914, and she was the longest lived of that family, though Aunt Polly lived to 86 and Aunt Lizzie to 81 or 82. I had a letter from him on Saturday, written on 28 September—the last of a series which began 40 years ago when I went to Felsted; except when I was at home I don't think either of us missed writing any week.

The career outlined above was only made possible by his brilliance as a writer of history. The publication of the *Life of Henry VIII* in 1902, when he was only thirty-three, established his reputation as the leading Tudor historian, and ten years later he wrote for the *Political History of England* the volume covering the years 1547-1603, which was a great advance on anything so far written on the period. Sixteen years later he published his *Life of Wolsey*, to which he was stimulated by the invitation to deliver the Ford Lectures at Oxford. These three books have been lately described as 'masterpieces of the historian's craft, which remain unsurpassed in their several fields'. They are the best, yet only a fraction of his total output. There were also, for example, the 500 articles (= 1 volume) which he contributed to the *D.N.B.*; the *Life of Cranmer* (1904); *The Reign of Henry VII from Contemporary Sonnets*, 3 vols., 1913-14; his articles in the *E.H.R.* and *History*, together with a steady stream of 'scholarly journalism', chiefly in *The Times Literary Supplement*. The full list of his works is larger still, but only two other works call for special notice: the *Evolution of Parliament* (1920), mentioned above, and his *Factors in Modern History* (1907). The first of these, which was more than ten years in the making, marks a curious—and praiseworthy—diversion from his Tudor interests,

and coincides with his growing absorption in the history of Parliament. This work occupied him off and on for the rest of his life and at his death he left behind considerable collections on the Reformation parliament. The other book, the *Factors*, is a masterly summary of sixteenth-century ideas, and a summary of the distinctively Pollardian outlook on the period. Here already one finds the thesis (to which all his work moved) that the Reformation parliament was only too eager to take away the Church lands and that Henry did not need to push them. Like all his ideas, it was never really worked out or driven home, but to it he constantly recurred in conversation and on these occasions he was often racy and exciting. In part this was due to his biographical approach, which debarred a systematic narrative of events; but we can easily underrate the astonishing wealth of minute, accurate knowledge in his two fine *Lives*, for the accumulation of which the calendar of the *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII* was a vast, and—up to a point—a reliable quarry. It is doubtful whether there is a better biography of an English ruler in the language than *Henry VIII*: or a better book for young students than the *Factors*. The durable quality of all this work on so controversial a period springs from its sincerity, and the imaginative sympathy by which it is informed. The choice of such a profession by one so supremely able as Pollard is only to be explained by something like a passion for getting at the truth. It was his ultimate inspiration, strictly disciplined by the nine years on the *D.N.B.* and helped undoubtedly by his own freedom from theological dogma. Given his basic outlook on the Reformation, which tied up with his nonconformist origin, there is not much to find fault with. Perhaps he was rather apt to 'fall' too much for his own ideas, as in his picture of Protector Somerset or even Cranmer. He was, too, no mystic, nor even a philosopher. On the other hand, he was essentially fair-minded and objective: the pity and sympathy he showed for his characters was deep and strangely at variance with the man we knew in society: and above all he was lucid and lively: a man who thought and wrote history as only very few historians in any generation seem to do it.

To say that he revealed himself best in his writing is, after all, no more than saying that he did not wear his heart on his sleeve. It is true but hardly explains that inner shyness which seemed to make him shrink from all intimacies. The hard and glittering surface he presented in society was at bottom defensive. He was always tense, alert, and eager; he never seemed to sit back

or relax. When he lectured and when he just talked he was quick, witty, and full of suggestion.

The French Revolution was a high jump rather than a long jump and the French people . . . came down from their leap not very far from where they started.

'Man is what he eats'—it might be taken for a motto by those people who believe in the economic interpretation of history.

When you worship a man like a god, you are doing your best to make him a devil.

The right had to be divine, or it was not much use in the ages of faith: for men had less reluctance then than now to saddle Providence with responsibility for their own creations. All legitimate institutions were regarded as of divine ordination.

This movement made the fourteenth century the first epoch of English nationalism. . . . Its battles are fought with a national weapon, the long bow (since become the national weapon of the Americans). . . .

These examples, though now in print, are all the spoken word, thrown off on the spur of the moment, and my wife is wont to recall just such another. She had mentioned a School Certificate 'howler' to the effect that Elizabeth 'banned all clergymens' clothes except the surplice', to which Pollard instantly replied: 'And he should have added that the Puritans thought even this superfluous.' Men of such alertness are seldom dons, more rarely still researchers; and it is obvious that Pollard possessed some of the gifts that make for success in the more combative professions of the Law and Politics. The very qualities that made him such a good teacher and lecturer, made him also a formidable adversary in committee. He was a great fighter, but he was not a man of friendships nor did he draw men to him. His prejudices against and his intolerance of what and of those he disliked were deep and lasting, and too often perhaps he sat in the seat of the scorner. In the view of his fellow historians he wrote far too often to *The Times*, and his severer *Reviews* were often excessive. Nor did he seem to mellow with the years, although there was no lack of recognition. In 1924, when he gave up the Chairmanship of the Board of Studies, friends and pupils joined together in a presentation volume of *Tudor Studies*. In 1920 he was elected to the British Academy and in 1930 he was made a Corresponding Member of the Academie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres (Institut de France). By 1933 he had received an Honorary Degree from Manchester University and was an Honorary Fellow of Jesus, his old college. Somewhat later he received further degrees both from London and from Oxford Universities.

Such a picture—and it is essentially that drawn by his colleagues over many years—if more than a half-truth, is still far from the whole truth. Pollard was a Victorian, whose sole emotional outlet was the Family. His parents, his wife, his children, with all the collateral interests these implied, filled his life and were his refuge from loneliness. An inveterate writer of letters (and in a beautiful script) he retailed week by week the story of his own doings, and expected to share their life ‘by return’. Birthdays, punctiliously noted in his diary, involved a constant interchange of letters. Postmarks were scrutinized, and it was useless to ante-date the forgotten missive. Thus he writes to his daughter Peggie (18 December 1932):

Graham regularly forgets the date of my birthday, but he called at Thornleigh the other day and lit upon your uncle Theo. Didn’t you forget the date? Your letter is dated 15 Dec. all right; but the unusually legible postmark is Dec. 17—12.45 a.m. and it reached me by our second post that morning. I had a note from Jeff, stamped Dec. 16—12.45 a.m. which similarly reached me by second post on the 16th. Our second post comes in about noon, so that is rather good.

Even a visit to America merely meant that ‘Home’ was temporarily moved to New York. His minute inquiry into the movements of ships is the measure of his anxiety about the home mail. Whole pages of his letters deal with this matter. Thus, to his daughter on 3 November 1924:

I have three of your letters to answer, two of which we found awaiting our return on Monday. The first of them you had begun on Sunday 12 Oct. and ended on Tuesday the 14th. But it is postmarked 1.15 a.m. 15 Oct. and did not catch that Wednesday’s boat. The same apparently happened to E. J. D.’s letter. Your first accordingly came with your second, dated 15 Oct., and Harold’s of the 17th. Your third dated 21 Oct. and post-marked 24 Oct. came by the *Berengaria* and reached us 1 Nov. The *Berengaria* was delayed a day by storms and did not dock until Sat. 1 Nov. afternoon, instead of the usual Friday. But they distributed the mails rapidly, and we had some of ours that afternoon, though one from Payne was only delivered this morning. The folks at Ilminster, like you mention the s.s. *Republic*; but our letters cannot have gone by her, and I doubt if she carries mails for England. She is an American liner calling at Queenstown, Cherbourg, Bremen, but no English port. Moreover she takes 10 days to Queenstown, and that would mean 11 or 12 before letters reached you.

This extract, which is very characteristic in the precision of its curiosity, illustrates the seriousness with which he took everything relating to his family; and the subject of the mails recurs again and again in his letters.

In due course, the grandchildren were drawn in. So, on 17 December 1931, he writes:

My dear Christina, Nora, Michael and David,

Thank you very much for your best wishes and presents for my birthday. I suppose the clips are meant to keep my wits together and the bands to bind my hair. I have to be careful with both nowadays, for they are not so plentiful as they were; and while my wits go gathering wool, they don't collect much hair. However, I may get hare-brained in time.

A. F. P. was not 'very good' with children, who do not today like puns, and probably never did; 'grandfather' belonged to the age of Lewis Carrol. But the older they got, the more adequate he became, and his granddaughter Christina must surely have enjoyed—without reserve—the letter he wrote to her on 18 January 1941.

Many a happy return of your birthday! and may the returns find you in a happier frame than the splints you are probably wearing now! I hope you will not have to wear them as long as I did in 1913, when the first Rhodes Scholar to be elected Fellow of All Souls' ran amok at the Bursar's dinner and broke my 'tibia' which is, I believe, the counterpart of your 'fibula'. The Bursar (Pember, afterwards Warden) improvised the following in the metre of 'Dies Irae, Dies illa'.

'In Coll. Omn. Animarum,
Ferialis Harum Scarum,¹
Archibaldus, censor morum (!)
Frangit crura Professorum.'

Anyway you won't have to cross the Atlantic in an equinoctial gale with your ankle in plaster of Paris, and clamber up three flights of steep steps, with the ship rolling, and carrying one crutch in the hand which used the other! It was six weeks before I got out of the plaster of Paris, and I had to lecture at Cornell standing on one leg and supporting my other knee on a stool! However old Freeman was worse off: he had gout, and had to lecture from the same place reclining on a couch!

Pollard was never so happy as when he had a pen in his hand. Like all his family, he wrote easily and fluently and there is in his correspondence a great deal of unpremeditated art. Nothing that interested him was left out, and mixed up with the readings of the thermometer and the rain-gauge, close observation of the weather, and the domesticities of life, is a running commentary upon contemporary personalities, politics, and world affairs, often acute and always outspoken. The stuff of history is in these letters. They are not intimate; still less are they affectionate in their terms. But at least they are very human, and we can hardly

¹ Note: see Marie Edgeworth in "Belinda" iii D, 'What I call harum scarum manners'.

doubt they were to him, in early years a safety-valve, and later on a distraction from his over-devotion to study and research.

The last phase—a long one—began with his retirement in 1931 from the Chair at University College. In August 1930 his wife had a very serious illness while on holiday at Milford-on-Sea. Pollard knew that it would recur and that her life was not likely to be prolonged. Her wishes and welfare became the chief motive in his life, even greater than his interest in the Institute of Historical Research. She was not told the truth about her health, and thought he would be happier at Milford-on-Sea (he loved bathing and the sea) than near London. She therefore encouraged him to buy a house at Milford, not realizing that he would shortly become very much a recluse there, when her sociable influence was removed. They came to Milford in 1932. After that his contacts with fellow historians were almost limited to the two days a fortnight which, as Director of the Institute, he used to spend in London during term-time. On these visits he made his home at his daughter's house in Gordon Square, and it was characteristic of him that if a room was not available there, he refused to put up in an hotel instead. At Milford he made no friends and few acquaintances, though he worked away until about 1944 at his parliamentary research. He was not, however, very competent to manage his house or his large garden—his wife had always done that. From this state of growing domestic discomfort, he was rescued in 1942 by his marriage to Miss Orchardson, who brought not 'academics' but music (which he loved) and more order and happiness than he had known for nearly ten years. And so in a deepening twilight he lived surrounded by the cheerful society of his wife and the filial attentions of his children until his death in 1948. It cannot be said that these were very happy years: in particular he resented what he regarded as his forcible eviction from the Institute of Historical Research. Yet perhaps at every stage in his life his home and family—the letters suggest it—meant more to him even than the Institute, and these never failed him.

V. H. GALBRAITH.

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